Kashmir Conflict:

A Study of What Led to the Insurgency in Kashmir Valley

&

Proposed Future Solutions

Introduction

Throughout ancient times, the breathtakingly beautiful Valley of Kashmir has stood for peaceful contemplation, intellectual advancement and religious diversity co-existing in an atmosphere of tolerance for the most part. In the modern geopolitical era, this same diversity, evident from the blend of Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism in this single state, has made it a center of warfare rather than cultural advancement. In the late 1980s, an insurgency in the valley threatened not only to rip Kashmir apart, but also pull the rest of the world into a dangerous war. In this paper, we will examine the major reasons for the insurgency, and why it only gained momentum some 40 years after India's partition. Finally, we will explore some of the modern-day proposed solutions to the ongoing conflict over Kashmir.

In order to gain a better understanding of why the insurgency of 1987-89 took place, we will examine the origins and development of the Kashmir independence movement. It is evident that aspirations of independence never disappeared from the Kashmiri consciousness, despite their accession to India in 1947. However, by the 1980s, external factors made poetic dreams of independence seem more realistic than ever before. We shall discuss the Pakistani influence and how they finally won some of the Kashmiri people's support in the 1980s after being repelled by them in the 1947-48 and 1965 wars. The Afghan War and subsequent defeat of the Soviet Union demonstrated to the Kashmiris that superpowers could be defeated. Furthermore, the entire jihadi

training, infrastructure and network in place in Afghanistan gave sufficient power and strength to the movement towards insurgency. Finally, an inadequate political system in Kashmir, dominated by effectively what was an oligarchy, allowed social changes associated with the rise in Islamic Fundamentalism create an environment from which the insurgency thrived.

In order to better understand what the most feasible and effective solutions may be under the current scenario, we will explore solutions from the viewpoint of the various stakeholders. Kashmir is home to a number of ethnic and religious groups, and any sustainable resolution would need to take into account the aspirations of all Kashmiris.

I The Princely State of Jammu & Kashmir

We shall begin by discussing the origins of the independence movement in Kashmir. There are two propagated pre-1947 histories of the Kashmir Valley. The first, recounted by the minority Kashmiri Pandits[1], talk of the butchery perpetrated under Afghan rule in the 18th and 19th centuries, in which tens of thousands of them were either brutally murdered or forcibly converted to Islam. The second is that of the majority Kashmiri Muslims, and the discrimination they faced under the Dogra rule from 1846 to 1947. The likely truth is both these histories are indeed true. The Kashmiri Muslims, many of whom had been converted to Islam from Hinduism by the Afghans, were clearly discriminated against by the Dogras.

The Dogra Rule

The Dogra Kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir, ruled by their Maharaja, had originated from the Jammu region of the newly created state. The Dogras were a neighboring race of Hindus who paid the British in 1846 a lump sum to buy the rights to the Kashmir Valley as part of the Treaty of Amritsar.[2]

The British missionaries who reached Kashmir in limited numbers in the late 1800s saw a "poor, illiterate and leaderless" Kashmiri people.[3] They were allowed to open several schools to educate the Kashmiri people, and many attended their schools.

[1] The Kashmiri Pandits are the Kashmiris who practice the Hindu religion. They are the original inhabitants of the Kashmir Valley and trace their history back thousands of years. They have survived the coming of Buddhism, Islam and finally Sikhism into the valley.

However, religious Muslim leaders frowned upon the modern education system, and so most Muslims remained formally uneducated[4]. Those Kashmiris that were educated then faced the reality of high unemployment and limited access to government jobs[5] in a poorly developed land.

There was a lot of faith in the young Maharaja Hari Singh when he succeeded his uncle's throne in 1925.[6] However due to his reliance on his advisors he lost touch with his subjects and became dangerously oblivious to their grievances.

The Muslim Conference

In 1931 a fierce propaganda campaign against the Maharajah's rule was initiated from Lahore[7], in neighboring Punjab, by the Muslim press[8]. Leaflets and journals spoke of the deliberate suppression of the Muslims and instigated the people to rise against the Maharajah whom they claimed was influenced by his Hindu advisors. They proclaimed that Islam was in danger.

There were a handful of formally educated Kashmiri Muslims, many of whom studied politics in universities in other parts of British India. Among them was Sheikh Abdullah, who would become the leader of the Kashmiri people and helped form the

---

[2] Bamzai p. 666 *Culture and Political History of Kashmir*, Volume 3: Modern Kashmir, P.N.K. Bamzai, M D Publications vt Ltd, New Delhi, 1994
[3] Id p. 716
[4] Id p. 718
[5] It was the Dogras who mostly made up government jobs during this time
[6] Id p. 722 Hari Singh had spent much time in his youth trying to understand his people and had been concerned with both their welfare and development.
[7] Lahore is in modern day Pakistan and its major city.

Muslim Conference. He was a compelling orator who delivered articulate and fiery speeches in various mosques around Kashmir inciting a communal uprising of his fellow Muslims against their Hindu rulers. He rose to further prominence when he was jailed in June 1931 for an anti-government speech he gave. His subsequent trial became quite a spectacle and excited large crowds of thousands of Muslims to assemble near the court during the proceedings[9].

The Adoption of Secularism

In the mid 1930s several Muslim Conference leaders stepped down citing that their colleagues were more interested in propagating their personal religious beliefs than fighting for the people's political rights[10]. They lost the support of many Muslims[11], and had no support from the non-Muslim minorities.

In his Presidential Address to the Muslim Conference in 1938, Abdullah changed tack in response and declared: "Like us the large majority of Hindus and Sikhs in the State have immensely suffered at the hands of the irresponsible government…Sooner or later these people are bound to join our ranks…We must end communalism by ceasing to think in terms of Muslims and non-Muslims when discussing our political problems".[12]

---

[8] Id p. 729 The Muslim Press concerned itself in alleviating the sufferings of Muslims in Punjab and neighboring areas, including Kashmir. Its members mostly comprised of a small educated class, and they faced difficulties in getting their message through to the broader uneducated public.
[9] Id p. 731
[10] Id p. 736
[11] This loss of support was mostly from within the organization itself.
[12] Appendix B

In 1939 the Muslim Conference changed its name to the National Conference and made a concerted effort to reach out to non-Muslims.

The Father of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, demanded a separate homeland for Muslims within British India, as explained by a 1940 speech: “The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions.”[13]

When Jinnah did reach Kashmir in 1944 he was “shocked to see the condition of the people in the state” [14]and advised that the Muslims there should join him under one flag and on one platform. However Jinnah and Sheikh Abdullah publicly criticized each other and Abdullah, with his repeated commitment to secularism won sway with the Kashmiri people. The Indian National Congress, led by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru (a Kashmiri Pandit and India’s first Prime Minister) had wooed Sheikh Abdullah, as he was one of the few Muslim leaders in British India to oppose Jinnah, as he believed in secularism. Abdullah in turn needed their help in defeating the Maharaja and implementing the democracy Nehru sought nationwide.

The Freedom Struggle

In his famous ‘Quit Kashmir’ speech in 1946, Abdullah rallied his people: “The tyranny of the Dogras has lacerated our souls. The Kashmiris are the most handsome

[13] Appendix C
[14] Appendix D

people, yet the most wretched looking. It is time for action…Sovereignty is not the birthright of a ruler. Every man, woman and child will shout 'Quit Kashmir'. The Kashmiri nation has expressed its will."[15]

In July 1947, just a month before partition, Mahatma Gandhi found time to visit Kashmir where he said that in an India which had become dark all around, Kashmir was the only hope with its peace amongst religions[16]. However, Maharajah Hari Singh could not decide between India and Pakistan before the British Empire relinquished power.

An Independent Kashmir

Following the partitioning of India on August 14-15, Kashmir became an independent nation, with an understanding that it would soon decide its future. The happenings in late 1947 are important for they form the facts of what India, Pakistan and the Kashmiris distort for their own purposes.

The Kashmir Socialist Party announced in September 1947, after careful consideration of the options facing Jammu and Kashmir that "in the best interests of the poor and backward people accession to Pakistan is desirable."[17] The Kisan Mazdoor Conference[18] also agreed in September 1947 that the State should cede to Pakistan due to

---

[15] Appendix J
[16] Bamzai, p. 745
[17] Appendix F
[18] The Kisan Mazdoor Conference was a group of farmers who discussed the issues facing Kashmir. Most were not landownders, as the rich Dogras based in the Jammu region owned much of the farmlands in Kashmir. So Pakistan not only offered them a practical option by way of their reliance on Lahore, but a way for them to free themselves of their Dogra landowners who would have no place in a communal Islamic Pakistan.

its majority Muslim population and the fact that the three main highways and all the rivers of the State flow into Pakistan.[19]

Sheikh Abdullah and his National Conference colleagues weren't released from prison until September 29, 1947 and immediately took to the task of deciding on Kashmir's future. They signed standstill agreements with both Pakistan and India so the Kashmiri people could have time to decide.

Accession to India

But on October 22, an impatient Pakistan invaded Kashmir from the north with an army of soldiers and tribesmen armed with modern weapons. The tales of the invader's brutal sackings of towns, and mass killings reached the people of Srinagar soon after and created mass hysteria. Kashmir, without an army, was under serious threat. The intention of Pakistan had been to instill fear into the Kashmiris so they would surrender quickly.

Maharaja Hari Singh sent Sheikh Abdullah as his representative to Delhi to seek India's help, and in turn signed the Statement of Accession. The next day, five days after the invasion began, Indian troops were flown into the capital Srinagar and fought alongside the local Kashmiris against the invaders, who had reached within a few miles of

[19] Appendix E

Srinagar.[20] The war was not over until the end of 1948 and left the former Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir split between India and Pakistan (Pakistan later gave a portion of its land to China).

[20] Bamzai, *Culture and Political History of Kashmir*, Volume 3: Modern Kashmir, P.N.K. Bamzai, M D Publications vt Ltd, New Delhi, 1994 p. 764

II A Free Kashmir

Sheikh Abdullah had probably preferred an independent Kashmir himself in 1947, for he would have undoubtedly become the leader. However due to the invasion by Pakistan he too needed India's help and thus promptly accepted the State's accession.

It would be wrong to say that only the Kashmiri Muslims desired independence. The famous writer and Kashmiri Pandit Premnath Bazaz published "Freedom Struggle in Kashmir" in 1954 in which he also defended Pakistan's stand in Kashmir. He had been banished from Kashmir along with another Kashmiri Pandit, Kanhayalal Kaul, by Sheikh Abdullah in 1949.

Abdullah explained his reasoning for joining India in 1948 when he declared: "We the people of Jammu and Kashmir, have thrown our lot with Indian people not in the heat of passion or a moment of despair, but by a deliberate choice. The union of our people has been fused by the community of ideals and common sufferings in the cause of freedom".[21] He also later reflected that the one million non-Muslims of the State would have no place in Pakistan and as the Kashmiris had always preached secularism their ideological home was India.[22]

---

[21] Pandita, K.N., *"Kashmir Question",* Kashmir Herald, Volume 2, No. 9 – February 2003, Featured Articles –http://www.kashmirherald.com/featuredarticle/kashmirquestion-prn.html (See Appendix J)
[22] Appendix A

Initial Years in the Indian Union

In September 1951 the first ever elections were held for the Constituent Assembly in the state. The National Conference won all 75 seats unopposed.[23] Article 370[24] of the Indian Constitution was passed in 1952 and was the compromise between the demands of Indian secularism and Muslim sub-nationalism.[25]

But by 1953 Abdullah had become confrontational with his own cabinet and began speaking of revoking the accession and forming an independent Kashmir on several occasions.[26] In August 1953 Sheikh Abdullah was arrested for having turned corrupt and autocratic. Abdullah's intolerance of opposition, his tight control over the press and the dominance of his own party within the government made autonomy ideal for him as he would not be held accountable, as other leaders in India were. Speculation suggests his dealings with the Americans and British worried Nehru of his future intentions.[27] He was replaced by his friend and deputy, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, under whom the Constituent Assembly ratified the State's accession to India in February 1954.[28]

---

[23] Bamzai, *Culture and Political History of Kashmir*, Volume 3: Modern Kashmir, P.N.K. Bamzai, M D Publications vt Ltd, New Delhi, 1994p. 804

[24] Article 370 made Kashmir exempt from the Indian Constitution. It also meant non-state subjects could not own property within the state, which discouraged investment and thus stalled development. Further, it means the State Government can do as it pleases, for example taking the land from the landowners in 1952 without paying the compensation India's laws dictated, and other discriminatory policies against minorities.

[25] Appendix J

[26] Appendix J

[27] Appendix J

[28] Sitting in a prison when the accession was ratified, Sheikh Abdullah immediately denounced it. He and other insurgents were able to later use the fact that he was jailed when the democratically elected representatives voted for accession to argue the Kashmiri people had been oppressed and unable to make a fair decision. In 1975, when Chief Minister of the state, he signed the Kashmir Accord which was his ultimate approval of accession to India.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad had been a leader at the time of Independence and now that he became Prime Minister of Kashmir, he sought out as much autonomy as possible from India. However he also spoke on numerous occasions that Kashmir needed India, and further he was a great believer in secularism.

Nehru had publicly stated in 1948 that the Kashmiri people should have a plebiscite to confirm their accession to India. The Pakistani argument, as supported by many Kashmiris, argues that as a formal plebiscite has never been conducted the accession was not final. The Indian argument, supported by other Kashmiris, counter that Nehru's idea of a plebiscite had meant the word as an expression of free will, which did occur in the elections of 1951 and ratification in 1954.

The New Elite

There is evidence that society in Kashmir started breaking away in the 1950s itself. Corruption and misrule brought alienation between government officials and the people. Those who protested were branded as pro-Pakistani. Local bureaucracy was in turn branded as Indian agents. This was the beginning of the alienation between the common man in Kashmir and those he elected as his representative.

The reasons for this are the local elite soon found that due to the uncertainty of a future plebiscite, they were able to attract money from New Delhi to fight 'secessionists'. So these elite and their bureaucrat colleagues earned large sums of money,

and through this wealth this small minority of Kashmiri Muslims created an effective oligarchy with which they have controlled Kashmir ever since.

One surprising decision at the time was for the State to make Urdu (the national language of Pakistan), rather than Kashmiri, the State's official language. It appears likely Urdu was chosen as only the elite were educated in it, and so when it became the official language of the Government they could continue to monopolize the lucrative State Government jobs (which were subsidized by the Indian Federal Government). This nexus of the elite, business class, top ranking bureaucrats and politicians were able to secure not only jobs but also highly coveted university positions for their own, to further their power to the detriment of the average Kashmiri.

The 1965 War

Under Bakshi the state had made great progress by way of new schools, universities, hospitals and roads. In 1964 Bakshi retired as Prime Minister[29]. What then changed was Pakistan. The democratic government was overthrown in 1958 in a military coup and the new leader of Pakistan, General Ayub Khan, secretly pursued Kashmir. To keep public support, the military promised the Pakistani military Kashmir, as well as

[29] The post's title was only changed to Chief Minister in 1965. In India there was only one Prime Minister, while each of the states had their own Chief Ministers.

defense from attacks from India. Pakistan would never give up its claim on all of Kashmir, for as they explained the letter K in Pakistan stood for Kashmir.[30]

In 1965 Pakistan suddenly invaded Kashmir in an attempt to take it by force, leading to a short war in which Pakistan was defeated heavily. The Kashmiri population supported the Indian army and helped repel the Pakistani attack.[31] Following the war, most Kashmiri people had turned strongly anti-Pakistan as they were seen as the aggressors. In 1972[32], the Simla Agreement stated that India and Pakistan would resolve their differences bilaterally, and not through the United Nations or other third parties.

The Kashmir Accord

The Plebiscite movement had failed to achieve anything, and after the 1971 War in which Pakistan was not only defeated by India but split in half, Abdullah and Kashmir moved closer to India. In 1972, Abdullah announced "our dispute with Government of India is not about accession but is about the quantum of autonomy."[33] The 1975 Kashmir Accord, signed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Chief Minister Sheikh Abdullah further strengthened India's control over legislation in Kashmir (however Article 370 remained).

---

[30] P is for Punjab, A is for Afghania, S is for Sindh and "stan" means place. The letter I is only added when converting the Urdu word for Pakistan into English and so does not represent anything. Hence, Pakistan was the land of Punjabis, Afghans, Sindhis and Kashmiris.

[31] Bamzai, p.834

[32] The 1971 War was a watershed that led to the division of West and East Pakistan. From India's viewpoint, it weakened Pakistan by carving out Bangladesh and asserted India's military might. It also seems to have created a psychological fear among Pakistan as well as Kashmiri Muslims. The realization came about that it would be impossible to obtain Kashmir through military means.

[33] Dasgupta, C., *Jammu & Kashmir in the Indian Union: the Politics of Autonomy*

Kashmir had very much become a part of India by this time. Popular Indian films were shot in the beautiful and picturesque Kashmir locales with its gardens, mountains and lakes providing scenic backdrops. The Indian upper class would venture to Kashmir in the summer for weeks at a time, socializing in the cooler climate of places such as Gulmarg (near Srinagar). So while the Kashmiri people retained their own distinct culture within the mosaic of India, they were a part of India's multi-cultural ways by the 1970s.

III The Seeds of Discontent

A group known as the Plebiscite Front had kept the secessionist sentiment alive in Kashmir ever since 1947, and the generations of Kashmiris since then knew of its pro-Pakistan ideology. We believe the group was not successful because of Abdullah's long legacy of anti-Pakistan sentiment which stemmed from his dealings with Jinnah. Pakistan had always attempted to win Kashmir without the Sheikh's support, underestimating his clout with his people. So it had well become time to woo Abdullah.

Sheikh Abdullah's Final years

In 1977 the State Congress Party withdrew its support of the Abdullah Government, thus ending the National Conference-Congress alliance of the time. In retaliation, two years after signing the Kashmir Accord and thus reaffirming Kashmir as an integral part of India, Abdullah began speaking about a plebiscite and even independence[34]. In 1979, Pakistani Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto pledged to "fight for a thousand years for the cause of oppressed Kashmiri Muslims." [35]

In his will, the Sheikh asked for his body to be taken to the waters of the Arabian Sea rather than be buried in Kashmir (as per normal Muslim custom) as he considered Kashmir to be an enslaved territory[36]. His reference to the Arabian Sea, as the Indian

[34] Reasons for this sudden shift are unclear. One view is that independence would have served his personal gain. Another explanation details his personal leaning towards Pakistan that surfaced as he realized he was reaching the end of his life and thus turned religiously conservative and anti-secular. More importantly, he may have been responding to the Kashmiri bureaucrats who were scared by the Kashmir Accord.
[35] Appendix J
[36] Appendix J

Ocean is known near the Arabian Peninsula, display his leaning to Islam and communalism in his final years.

The Islamization of Kashmir

In 1980, the Islamization of Kashmir began with full force. The Abdullah Government changed the names of about 2500 villages from their original names to new Islamic names.[37] For example, the major city of Anantnag was to be known as Islamabad (same name as the Pakistani Capital). The Sheikh began giving communal speeches in mosques as he used to in the 1930s. Further, in his autobiography he referred to Kashmiri Pandits as "mukhbir" or informers (of the Indian government).[38]

There was clearly an orchestrated public relations campaign to change the Kashmiri people. There was the distribution of a pamphlet titled the "Tragedy of Kashmir". Suddenly thousands of copies of Pakistani writer Muhammed Yusuf Saraf's book "Kashmiris Fight for Freedom" appeared in the Valley, as did "On Guerrilla War" by Che Guevara.[39]

Then an elected Member of State Parliament released a pamphlet called "The Conspiracy of Converting Kashmir Muslim Majority into a Minority."[40] With Abdullah's death in 1982, the secessionist leadership emerged in full force. Despite having Abdullah's support in his final days they turned against him and his National

[37] Appendix J
[38] Appendix J
[39] Appendix J
[40] Appendix J

Conference[41]. Farooq Abdullah, who succeeded his father as leader of the National Conference lost the 1984 State Election.

The Saudi Influence

The exact role of Saudi Arabia cannot be known due to lack of evidence currently, but there are clear indications showing their influence. Many Saudi religious personalities and scholars[42] held an Islamic Conference in Srinagar in 1979 and visited often thereafter. Further, they set up the Jhelum Valley (JV) Medical College in 1980, through which they were able to funnel large sums of foreign exchange money into Kashmir, and also provide seats for the children of Kashmir's elite who could not gain admission at other colleges based on their results[43]. Anecdotal evidence suggests it was the doctors in this hospital that began spreading the message of radical Islam and communalism. Further, armed militants later were captured with documents showing they had received Pakistani currency from the JV Medical College.

Nowadays even Pakistani sources confirm the extensive use of Saudi money that went towards setting up facilities, such as Madrassahs that trained jihadis in the region[44]. From the early 1980s, Madrassahs started spreading throughout the Kashmir Vale, and these institutions planted the seeds of Islamic fundamentalism in Kashmiris from an

---

[41] It appears that the reasons for this sudden and seemingly contradictory shift were politically motivated. The secessionists wanted victory, and the easiest way of doing this was by vilifying the National Conference for being 'pro-India', even though the National Conference had changed tack in recent years.
[42] Appendix J
[43] Appendix J
[44] See Appendix H

early age. Children were instructed to “fight for Islam”[45], and hatred for their Kashmiri Pandit counterparts was bred extensively. Anecdotes suggest that classes being taught the alphabet learnt that “B is for Batta. M is for marun. Batta chu marun”, where *Batta* refers to local non-muslims, *marun* is to kill, hence ‘The local non-Muslim has to be killed’.

Initial Outbreaks of Violence

In early 1986 were the first clear outbreaks of violence when Muslim fundamentalists attacked the minority Kashmiri Pandits.[46] The exact reason of the outbreak remains unclear, but at the end of it dozens of Pandits had been killed and 24 Hindu temples had been burnt by Muslim mobs.[47]

Violent disturbances such as these were all carried out in the name of Islam. The Governor of Kashmir at the time, Jagmohan, observed that most of the disturbances that took place occurred on Friday nights as crowds dispersed from the mosques[48]. Mosques became a platform for religious sermons intermingled with fiery political speeches. The people delivering these speeches were often trained mullahs, who had been sent to Kashmir from Pakistan for this specific purpose. A Kashmiri who attended Mosques during this period commented that such provocative language and distorted facts were

---

[45] Jagmohan, *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi 1992, p.180

[46] Sharma, Usha, *Cultural, Religious and Economic Life of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh*, Radha Publications, New Delhi, 2001, p.144

[47] Id., p.144

[48] Jagmohan, *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi 1992, p.124

used that even deep-thinking and highly learned persons who listened to these would certainly arise too. Thus, on Friday nights it became quite common for public vehicles to be stoned and police to be attacked[49].

In fact, the outbreak of militant violence that became commonplace in the valley was a purely contemporary concept for Kashmiris. Kashmir has no history of resisting hordes of foreign rulers, and in fact was shaped by principles of non-violence and pacifism as dictated by Kashmir's cultural heritage in the Rishi Order[50]. Thus, it was easy for the Islamic fundamentalist influence to take hold of the submissive Kashmiri people. By using Islam to justify their violence the insurgents were able to refer to their struggle as 'justice'.

Radical Islam

Before the 1980s, there were pockets of Islamic Fundamentalism present in isolated parts of Kashmir, notably in Sopore and around the Anantnag region. It's important to appreciate the difference between Kashmiri Islam and the more mainstream fanatical Islam which took over the rest of the Islamic world in recent centuries. In Kashmiri Islam, a variant of Sufism, there is much Hindu Vedanta influence stemming from the fact that most Kashmiri Muslims were originally Hindus who had been converted between 1300-1800. In fact, Kashmiri Islam is based upon the teaching of their Rishis, a word borrowed from their original Hindu philosophy meaning learned scholar.

---

[49] Jagmohan, p.122
[50] Behera, Navnita, *State, Identity & Violence*, Rajkamal Electric Press, New Delhi, 2000, p.172-3

The Kashmiri Rishis, some of whom were also Hindus, formed their own form of peaceful Islam that had become secular, democratic and very liberal in thought. And so it was this clash of Islams that came to the fore in the early 1980s.

This division was only later highlighted when in 1995 notorious Afghan mercenary Mast Gul burned down the sacred Sufi shrine of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Noorani. The subsequent outcry from the general Kashmiri Muslim population resulted in large numbers of the Kashmiri insurgents pulling out of their militant groups which were based in Pakistan, and in fact giving up their weapons altogether. What happened in 1995 was not foreseen by the Kashmiri Muslim youth in the late 1980s. They had believed they were victims and that to be true Muslims they needed the strict Shariat Law and thought Pakistan was there to help them. One former militant leader has said they had been manipulated by the Pakistanis as they were young at the time, but had been responsive to them as they were frustrated by New Delhi's lack of response to their plight.[51]

The publication of The Satanic Verses in Britain in 1989 by Salman Rushdie, a Kashmiri Muslim, caused major protests in Kashmir. Ayatollah Khamenei of Iran banned the book, claiming it was blasphemous and critical of Islam and Prophet Muhammad. The Kashmiris, never having seen the book, felt it was their duty as Muslims to protest. In fact the triumph of the Ayatollah in the Iran Revolution of 1979 gave much confidence to the secessionist fundamentalists. The Ayatollah talked of

[51] Appendix K

Islamic Revolutions in all the countries of the world to liberate the enslaved Muslim people. The Jamaat-I-Islami party spread rumors that the Ayatollah's ancestors had come to Kashmir and that he was thus related to Kashmiri Muslims. This became a great matter of pride for them, never mind that he was a Shia and most of them were Sunni Muslims.

The Jamaati directed people to buy weapons instead of color TVs, and Ghani Lone, a current member of the Hurriyat, implored all local women to sell their jewellery to help finance the purchase of weapons. In fact, the Jamaati claimed that the Pandits (presumably Indian agents as they were Hindus went the argument) were secretly collecting weapons and so the Muslims should follow suit.

The Afghan War

The insurgents were impacted by very different foreign influences than earlier movements for independence in the valley. The advent of television sets on a mass scale in Kashmir in the late 1980s allowed the Kashmiris to watched indigenous Afghans rise to defeat the Soviet superpower. The impact of this television coverage was serious; in fact, government sources say that there was an order issued to Indian T.V. not to present these scenes in Kashmir

The Afghan War not only lifted Kashmiri spirits, but also served a very important practical purpose. The final stages of the Afghan War brought about a sudden surge in armaments and manpower readily available for the Kashmir struggle. In fact,

Kashmir Police found themselves outgunned by the militants who possessed Kalashnikovs, grenades and rocket launchers[52]. Pakistan sources also admit that their generals used "war-addicted Afghans" (some fifty thousand veterans were left with no war to fight) to keep the Indian Army occupied in counter-insurgency[53]. Their tactic certainly worked, as demonstrated by the growing dissatisfaction of local Kashmiris with Indian Security Forces.

Many of the elite, who were paid by both Pakistan and India, preached for all Kashmiris to send their sons for the jihad. Recent criticism of them accuse them of refusing to send their own sons while encouraging others to sacrifice theirs. In fact it became a matter of family pride for a son to go fight as an insurgent. Devoid of a higher education, jobs and other notable ways for personal achievement, taking arms was the new manner in which the common Kashmiri could prove his valor and gain respect.[54]

The Next Generation

The growing political dissidence is difficult to correlate with a lessening of political or religious rights of Kashmiris. In fact, in the 1980s, freedom of speech was flourishing in the Valley. There was a rapid expansion of educational institutions, and a growth of press and television coverage.[55] Indeed, this very fact created a more politically conscious younger generation. In fact even today, after more than a decade of

---

[52] Dasgupta, Chandrashekhar, *Jammu & Kashmir in the Indian Union: the Politics of Autonomy,* p.13
[53] Appendix H
[54] Behera, Navnita, *State, Identity & Violence*, Rajkamal Electric Press, New Delhi, 2000, p.172
[55] Dasgupta, Chandrashekhar, *Jammu & Kashmir in the Indian Union: the Politics of Autonomy,* p.13

stagnation, the state of Jammu and Kashmir ranks fourth amongst all Indian states by way of per capita income.[56]

In fact, with few Kashmiri Muslims paying the amount of taxes they indeed owed, the State always faced a budget deficit and needed India to continuously pay the large difference to keep the State from bankruptcy. The Indian taxpayer effectively financed the State.

With about one-third of the former princely state under Pakistani occupation, there was direct influence from the Pakistan side into the Indian side by ways of Islamic Fundamentalism. The Islamic radicals formed the Jamaat-i-Islami party to contest elections on the platform of introducing the strict Islamic Shariat laws into Kashmir. They won a few districts and were able to influence those predominantly rural areas.

In the 1970s, the Jamaats offered education to the Kashmiri Muslims and their conservative teachings included criticism on non-Muslims and anti-India messages. To finance themselves, their members had to pay 10% of their earnings to the party. In fact Abdullah had banned these Jamaati madrassas in 1975 for 'spreading communal poison'.[57] The result was many of these teachers were simply employed by government schools where they continued to spread their propaganda until more maddrassas came up.

By as early as 1983, the Government of India received reports of Kashmiri youth returning home after receiving training somewhere on the border. By 1984, the theme

[56] Dr M.K. Teng & C.L. Gadoo, *White Paper on Kashmir*, Chapter 3, Economics of Militancy

"Islam is in Danger" was the sentiment that mobilized the youth, rather than aspirations for independence. This fact is often disregarded, and most sources incorrectly state that the first batch of youth to cross the border for arms and training was in 1987-8[58], as a direct result of the rigged elections. By 1989, the Indian government estimated that about 10,000 Kashmiri youth had gone to Pakistan to undergo training[59].

Not only was this emerging younger generation of Kashmiri Muslims indoctrinated with Islamic fundamentalism, but they were also faced with declining economic conditions. Exact figures of youth unemployment are not available. However, even amongst the educated, figures were quite high. In 1987 nearly 10,000 university graduates were unemployed, and between 40,000 and 50,000 school graduates suffered from unemployment[60]. Needless to say this youth group did not belong to the elite who had dominated Kashmir. Furthermore, when they crossed the border to become trained jihadis, they were often supplied with substantial amounts of money and financial support.

However, the draw of militancy was much stronger than a matter of simple economics. Some former militants now speak of the sheer emotional power they felt when they held a gun in their hands, with the future of their homeland lying within their grasp[61]. There were also a number of mounting social pressures that quickly became part

---

[57] Dasgupta, *Jammu & Kashmir in the Indian Union: the Politics of Autonomy*

[58] See, for instance, Behera, Navnita, *State, Identity & Violence*, Rajkamal Electric Press, New Delhi, 2000, p.164

[59] Schofield, Victoria, *Kashmir in Conflict*, p.149

[60] Schofield, Victoria, *Kashmir in Conflict*, p.145

[61] Appendix K

of mainstream culture. For instance, it became a status symbol to have a mujahedin[62] in the family.

Most weapons did indeed come in from Pakistan. The Indian Border Security Forces, underpaid and posted in isolated mountain ranges in the bitter cold, later admitted to taking money as bribes from the many people who crossed the border between India and Pakistan. They did not realize that money and weapons were being transferred.

1987 State Election

Dasgupta presents an interesting explanation[63] of the allegedly rigged 1987 State Elections which many cite as a major cause of the Kashmiri people affording further support to the insurgents. The Muslim United Front was a coalition of parties including the Jamaat-i-Islami, who rejected the Accession, and the Ummat-i-Islami (MUF), which demanded more democratic rights for the people. The electorate were already skeptical of the National Conference-Congress alliance, and so when there were incidents of malpractice in the counting process they were quite perturbed. Not only did the National Conference win 40 seats and the Congress 26 for a landslide victory for the alliance, the MUF won only 4 seats out of 76. This was despite the estimated 32% total support for the MUF, and 53% for the alliance.

---

[62] A Holy Warrior who fights for Islam.
[63] Dasgupta, Chandrashaker, *Jammu & Kashmir in the Indian Union: the Politics of Autonomy*

The tallying procedure considered whomever was first past the post as the winner, and this policy which is common in all democracies, favors alliances. So while the MUF had widespread support it only had the majority in 4 seats, the rest of its voters were spread amongst the other seats as a minority. This mathematical explanation on the inherent difference between popular vote and actual seats appears likely in a democracy style system but did not sit well with the people as the opposition parties claimed the elections were fraudulent. Without any recourse to channel their grievances in a democratic manner, candidates such as Abdul Ghani Lone, Yasin Malik (JKLF) and Syed Salahuddin (Hizbul Mujahadin) became the face of insurgency.

IV The Insurgency

Contrary to the popular view that the insurgents picked up their guns in response to an undemocratic political system[64], in no way was the movement fighting for greater democratic rights. In fact, as already shown, they had already picked up their guns prior to the election. Their cause was religiously and ideologically fuelled. In many ways, the ruling National Conference party had encouraged this atmosphere through a range of propaganda campaigns. Even as far back as the 1984 election, Farooq Abdullah and the National Conference deliberately tried to create revulsion against India for their own political ends. These Propaganda ads (see Appendix I) tried to demonstrate that India's iron fist was bleeding Kashmir. There is little evidence of Indian repression in this period, and it seems likely that the National Conference was trying to use this as a way to hide the poor and corrupt performance of the State Government. Indeed, perhaps if India had done more to intervene in State affairs, it could have abated the insurgency that followed.

The Role Of Pakistan

Having failed to take Kashmir by force, and unable to win the hearts of the Kashmiris by offering them a democracy when they themselves had a military dictatorship, Pakistan had to woo the Kashmiris by its ideology of communalism.

---

[64] For instance, see Schofield, Victoria, *Kashmir in Conflict,* p. 147 and Behera, Navnita, *State, Identity & Violence,* p.164

Before the insurgency in Kashmir began, there was an insurgency movement in neighboring Punjab, which had also been split between India and Pakistan in 1947. That died out by the late 1980s, when the Sikhs that had taken up arms against India had realized they were being used by their Pakistani sponsors and gave up arms. And so Pakistan's attention turned to Kashmir. One major reason Pakistan needed to sponsor insurgency in India was to gain intelligence on India, and its army. After suffering three consecutive defeats, each time after attacking India unprovoked and by surprise, Pakistan was fearful India would be tempted to launch a pre-emptive strike against Pakistan to destroy its army to ensure Pakistan never again attempted to invade India.[65]

The Pakistani view is that they are providing moral support to the Kashmiri People in their fight for freedom against the brutal Indian Army who commit excessive humans rights abuses on the oppressed Muslims living in India, a non-Muslim country. The Indian perspective is that they are dealing with a proxy war by Pakistan who have never accepted the Kashmiri's democratic reaffirmation of their accession to India. The Kashmiris themselves are split between supporting Pakistan, India and independence. But while the Pakistanis and Indians live in relative peace, it is the Kashmiri who suffers the most while the issue remains unresolved.

The slogans: “Pakistan se kya rishta? La ilaha ilallah” (What is the relation with Pakistan? There is no God but God.) followed by “Azaadi ka matlab kya? La ilaha ilallah” (What is the meaning of freedom? There is no God but God.) indicate that

[65] Bodansky, Yossef, *Pakistan’s Kashmir Strategy*, Freeman Center for Strategic Studies, Houston, Texas, January 1998

Pakistan for Kashmiris meant Islam, and freedom for Kashmiris meant Pakistan.[66] Those who coined and floated these slogans went on to form the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Force (JKLF). The JKLF wanted to liberate Kashmir. In fact its founder, Hashim Qureshi, later fled to Western Europe for asylum after the Pakistanis hijacked his organization and used its members to fight India as part of a religious struggle rather than for the independence he had desired.[67]

In 1990 a report showed that almost a thousand of the elite Kashmiri Muslims were on the payroll of the ISI[68]. In 1993, with pro-independence insurgents separating from the pro-Pakistan factions, Pakistani border troops shot and killed some thirty Kashmiri youth on their way to POK for training. Slowly but surely the ties between Pakistan and the Kashmiri youth were being severed.

Republic Day

In addition to the Afghan War, local Kashmiris also watched on TV as mass movements against authoritarianism arose in East Europe and Central Asia[69]. The most significant of these was in Romania, where on Christmas Day 1989, dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was executed. Less than a month later was to be Kashmir's turn.

---

[66] Appendix J

[67] Bodansky, Yossef, *Pakistan's Kashmir Strategy*, Freeman Center for Strategic Studies, Houston, Texas, January 1998

[68] The Pakistan ISI got legitimacy from the Pakistani government by providing commercial and logistic transactions in Afghanistan and Kashmir.

[69] Schofield, Victoria, *Kashmir in Conflict*, p. 148

Perhaps the most significant event was the insurgents successful kidnapping of India's Home Minister. In December 1989, there was a change in the Federal Government in India, with Rajiv Gandhi losing to VP Singh's Government. Singh's deputy, the Home Minister, was Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, the current Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir. Just weeks after being sworn in, his daughter was kidnapped near Srinagar by insurgents who demanded the release of their colleagues from prison. Mufti, holding the third highest office in India behind the President and Prime Minister, broke India's policy of non-negotiation with terrorists and released the captured insurgents and his daughter was released. The whole episode has subsequently been referred to by insurgents as a key moment when they were able to show their Kashmiri people that India could be brought to its knees.

These incidents gave the Kashmiris fighting for independence a great deal of confidence, unlike the early years when dreams of independence were always viewed as a practical impossibility. Many Kashmiris felt that independence was imminent after the fall of the communist era, and some locals remarked that they thought the reality of independence was only a matter of weeks away.

January 20, 1990 was to be Kashmiri Independence Day. This date was chosen a few weeks prior as the day the masses would take to the streets and take power from India, effectively their army, for the Kashmiri people (and they would subsequently become a Republic and/or join Pakistan). Most Kashmiris were convinced that this would occur, and in fact the largest exodus of Kashmiri Pandits occurred on January 19.

Despite the fact that the masses were limited to Srinagar, and not regions of the State such as Ladakh and Jammu did not mean it was not a very real threat.

There were reportedly between January 1 and January 19, 1990, 319 violent acts - 21 armed attacks, 114 bomb blasts, 112 arsons, and 72 incidents of mob violence.[70] In fact the Indian Government was so desperate they sent Jagmohan, the former Governor of the State, on the night of 18th January to make a last ditch effort to save the Kashmir Valley. He was able to organize a last minute blockade that stopped people from leaving their local neighborhoods so they could not reach the main streets and mobilize into a large crowd.[71] The momentum of the masses was soon lost, and such a mass protest was never attempted again.

Exodus of Pandits

One reason why Kashmiris were uncomfortable in joining Pakistan was its large non-Muslim minority, who would have no place in Islamic Pakistan. Hence by resorting to the systematic killings of Hindus, as well as spreading fear amongst them through newspaper ads and pamphlets ordering them to leave or face death, Pakistan was able to overcome this major obstacle.

With most of the Hindus gone by January 1990, and the secular minded Muslims powerless to help them return, Pakistan was able to strengthen its claim on Kashmir.

---

[70] Jagmohan, *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi 1992

[71] Jagmohan, *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi 1992

There was religious indoctrination, by misusing mosques and other available platforms, in a bid to frighten the secular Muslims.

The crimes against humanity perpetrated against the Kashmiri Pandits were tragic. While genocide occurred on a small scale, it is more likely that the objective was to drive them away rather than wipe them out. The dozens of killings and rapes were always followed by warnings for Pandits to get out, which suggest that the attacks were more as a statement rather than intent for mass genocide. But what was most surprising to Pandits was how there were large demonstrations in several Kashmiri cities by common Kashmiris with the slogan: "Asi gachi Pakistan, batni rosin batta gatssin." In Kashmiri this means: We will become a part of Pakistan, Pandit women can stay with us

but Pandit men must leave."[72] They could understand why the extremists wanted them to leave, but were shocked when the masses joined in.

The Momentum Dies

The list of innocent persons who fell prey to the bullets of terrorists is again illustrative of the Islamization drive. The victims included prominent educationists and subscribers to secular ideals. Not only Pandits, but Muslims such as Professor Mushir-ul-Haq, Vice Chancellor, Kashmir University, and Maulana Mohammad Syed Masoodi, a renowned Muslim scholar were among such victims at the hands of the terrorists.[73] Libraries of Universities were destroyed for having unislamic books, and freedom of

[72] Appendix J
[73] Appendix J

speech was suspended. It was clear the movement was not against India, but all things unislamic in their eyes.

While comparisons to Nazi Germany are fraught with danger, it does seem the population were caught in a mass hysteria that they now admit was a mistake. I have heard many anecdotal stories from others who have met with Kashmiri Muslims in Kashmir who have shown much resentment in not doing anything to stop the fundamentalists. It is difficult to determine if they genuinely wanted an Islamic State of Kashmir, or if they merely followed the trend as if it were a fad.

The movement was not merely an indigenous one, but clearly influenced by Pakistan. This is corroborated by the fact that with the Pandits gone, the majority Sunni population then turned on the minority Shias. There had previously been no tension between the two groups in Kashmir. However, Pakistan has always been troubled by Sunni-Shia conflicts, and thousands have been killed by each other in riots by mobs over the years. So I argue the fact that the insurgents turned on the Shias indicates they had adopted Pakistani principles rather than their own.

The Oligarchy

More than half of the state has remained free of insurgents. In fact there has always been a clear anti-independence stance in the Ladakh and Jammu regions of the state. Both regions feel they too have been misruled by the Srinagar oligarchy who have dominated the government seats, jobs and university positions. Further, the Kashmiri

Pandit youth have been settling in other parts of India over the past several decades due to discrimination by this oligarchy who favored their own. The set quotas on minorities such as the Pandits meant only few of them could seek higher education in Kashmir, and once they left to study in other parts of India they would find the lure of a free and open India too great to ever return to settle back in their home state.

In 1986 Jagmohan had argued that “Article 370 is nothing but a breeding ground for the parasites at the heart of the paradise. It skins the poor. It deceives them with its mirage. It lines the pockets of the 'power elites'”[74]. He explains how over the years it has become an instrument of exploitation by the ruling political elites and other vested interests in bureaucracy, business, judiciary and bar.

The Article merely facilitates the growth and continuation of corrupt oligarchies. In fact Article 370 disallows such Indian legislation such as the Wealth tax, the Urban Ceiling Act, the Gift Tax and other beneficial laws from helping the poor Kashmiri and leaves them impoverished. There has been a complete dominance by this oligarchy, which make up a small minority of Kashmiri Muslims. By cleverly playing India against Pakistan, and using the masses as pawns in their game, they have kept a stranglehold on the running of the State.

---

[74] Jagmohan, *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi 1992

V Resolving the Conflict

In this section we will present various solutions that we have considered that could bring peace to the disputed area of Jammu and Kashmir. The precise contours of solutions to the conflict in Kashmir are, of course, uncertain. There are many proposed resolutions from which to choose; new ones could still be devised, but it is important to consider the present status of the Line of Control while devising a plan for the future. All the feasible options can only be long lasting if the actions are undertaken while keeping the aspirations of Kashmiris living on both sides of the LOC in mind. While resolving the problems in Kashmir is an integral aspect of the peace process, it is equally important to remember to keep the wishes of Kashmiri people in mind. A solution without the participation, wishes and aspirations of Kashmir people would not last.

Past solutions that have been suggested include recognition of the Line of control as it is[75]. Currently a boundary - the Line of Actual Control - divides the region in two, with one part administered by India and one by Pakistan. India would like to formalize this status quo and make it the accepted international boundary. But Pakistan and Kashmiri activists reject this plan because they both want greater control over the region. Pakistan has consistently favored the idea that Kashmir should join Pakistan. In view of the state's majority Muslim population, it believes that it would vote to become part of Pakistan. However a simple majority (plebiscite) held in a region which comprises peoples that are culturally, religiously and ethnically diverse, would create large, disaffected minorities. The Hindus and Sikhs of the Kashmir Valley, the Hindu majority of Jammu, and the Buddhist majority of Ladakh have never shown any desire to join Pakistan and would protest such an outcome.

---

[75] BBC News

In the same spirit of the argument, India, of course, believes that the entire state of Kashmir should be a part of India. Such a solution would be unlikely to bring stability to the region, as the Muslim inhabitants of Pakistani-administered Jammu and Kashmir, including the Northern Areas, have never shown any desire to become part of India.

In addition to making decisions about the whole region, there have also been proposal of a smaller independent Kashmir. An independent Kashmir could be created from the Kashmir Valley - currently under Indian administration - and the narrow strip of land that Pakistan calls Azad Jammu and Kashmir. This would leave the strategically important regions of the Northern Areas and Ladakh, bordering China, under the control of Pakistan and India respectively. However both India and Pakistan would be unlikely to enter into discussions that would have this scenario as a possible outcome.

Some have considered the possibility of having an independent Kashmir Valley as an option. This possibility is supposed to address the grievances of those who have been fighting against the Indian Government since the insurgency began in 1989. But critics say that, without external assistance, the region would not be economically viable. The rest of the paper considers the possibility of an Independent Economic Zone of Kashmir and some of the policies that need to be implemented for this option to be a viable one. We argue that Kashmir can become an independent entity that is economically sustainable if proper resources and policies are filtered into the region by the State as well as the Central Government.

Independent Economic Zone

One creative proposal is to turn the entire area into an Independent Economic Zone where both India and Pakistan can engage in free Trade. This would require both armies to withdraw under conditions of honor and dignity; it would not prejudice their positions on Kashmir as a whole; it would stop further degradation of a magnificent mountain area; it

would save thousands of lives and billions of rupees that are spent on special military forces by the government; and more importantly, try to heal a running sore among Kashmiri hearts. Any agreement to withdraw forces would, of course, have to be backed by assurances. An independent entity such as the United Nations can be involved as an "enforcer" in such scenarios. There have been examples in the past where such actions have been undertaken. Ground-based and air surveillance, such as is used along the Mexico–US border, or was used in 1973 to monitor the Sinai Desert Cease Fire, could ensure this. The mountain terrain would present special difficulties, but from reports of recent discussions, it may be assumed that these can be overcome.

This scenarios requires detailed knowledge of the situation on the ground with a deep understanding of political considerations. Both sides need to recognize each other's claims, agree not to change the status quo by force, and agree not to introduce irregulars. This would be followed by 3 steps:

1. End the fighting without disengaging or redeployment.
2. Introduce technical means of monitoring and surveillance, permitting meaningful reductions of forces to be negotiated.
3. Work out a complete demilitarization.

At present, with possibly up to a million armed men facing each other across the Kashmir border, talk of ending the fighting and of bringing peace to the region seems remote. But the dawn always comes after the darkest period: perhaps there will also be a dawn for the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

It is also crucial to look at the feasibility of the option. Kashmir has a sizable population and enough land and infrastructure to support itself. However, it requires a lot more resources to continue building the necessary framework to be a successful

entity, in the purely economic as well as social sense. Both the Government of India and Pakistan needs to be actively involved in the development process of the region to build the necessary infrastructure of the well beings of its residents as well as foster good educational institutions and aid the tourism industry for long term growth.

In retrospect, India and Pakistan have spent a lot of resources, both in terms of monetary contribution as well as human capital, in trying to resolve or perpetuate the problem. Thus, the proposed solution is much cheaper in comparison to the past willingness to pay in both countries. The costs of the Kashmir conflict are said to be increasingly unbearable for all involved. Over 40,000 lives have been lost since the insurgency began in 1989. The governments have spent tens of billions of rupees on feeding and fighting the conflict rather than on alleviating poverty and improving literacy and health programs for the staggering number of poor in all of India and Pakistan.

In terms of considering the viability of Kashmir as an independent Economic region, it is important to look at its available resources as well as its past history. Kashmir is a unique region since it is land-scarce and yet labor-abundant state, with less than 30% of its total area suitable for cultivation. The majority of the land comprises mountains and hillsides. The Government of India attempted to overcome these handicaps by heavily subsidizing the state with grants in the early years. Between 1950 and 1970 nearly the Central funded 90% of the state's Five Year Plans, whilst other backward states such as Bihar only received 70% aid. One major side effect of this policy was that it failed to give the state an impetus to mobilize its own resources for economic growth. As a result, Kashmir has not tapped its potential tax revenue and developed into the lowest taxed state in India because of the lack of incentives provided by the Central Government's aid[76].

---

76 Prakash, Siddhartha, "The Political Economy of Kashmir since 1947", Contemporary South Asia, 2000

In the 1970s, the central Government reversed its aid policy to 30% grants and 70% loans. As a result, more than 50% of the state's expenditure began to comprise of debt and interest repayments. This debt servicing liability on one rupee loaned by the center to J&K today is a staggering amount (5.35 rupees for every rupee borrowed by the State Government). The situation is similar to the debt crisis facing Africa, whereby resources required for productive investments are being diverted to debt repayments. Kashmiri militants who were fighting for independence have cited such evidence to justify their claims that 'India is guilty of treating Kashmir as a colony.'[77] In hindsight, while certain decision taken by the government of India were misguided, the economic policies implemented by various state governments in Kashmir played a much greater role in explaining the problems confronting the state today. State interventions in agriculture and industry were constantly subjected to the pressures and pulls of various interest groups. As a result, policies that were conceived to benefit to society at large were often implemented by a small group of the population to beneficial to themselves. It would be crucial for the Central Government to forgo the future debt payments and allow the state to spend the financial capital on building the infrastructure and providing the right resources and opportunities to its population.

The rural areas of Kashmir need an active involvement by the State Government to make agriculture an active and vibrant part of the economy. Agriculture contributes over 40% of the state domestic product and employs two thirds of the total working population of the state. Official government publications suggest that 'agricultural activities have remained uninterrupted during all these years of turmoil' and the figures show impressive increases in productivity. The farmers in the region have underutilized the technology despite the staggering gains by other states such as Punjab, who have benefited tremendously from the Green Revolution. In the past, state intervention has not always

---

[77] Ibid

resulted in optimal outcomes. The major thrust of policies aimed at raising agricultural production has been concentrated on cereal production, although non-cereal production activities also have recorded gains. As a result of state expenditure, cereal production has increased, but the state's food grain requirements have exceeded local production levels. Over the years, the state's dependence on outside markets for milk, mutton, cereals, vegetables and wool has consistently risen[78].

The growth in the demand for food and cereals has not been able to keep up with the increase in the population. Lack of proper incentives and resources for the farmers have resulted in such outcomes. In order to encourage small farmers to adopt Green Revolution technology, the government has to offer high prices for their crops, as had occurred in the rest of India. The 1975 Development Review Committee's Report suggests that the state government was pursuing a mistaken price policy with regard to food grains. The Report concludes that, 'food farmers are left with the depressed price offer and the law of supply clearly says that the lower the price the lower will be the production '[79]. As a result of low profitability, small farmers in Kashmir have often lacked the capital to invest in costly technological changes, unlike other parts of India. Moreover, by creating small farms below the optimal size, the land reforms were not the best base for the Green Revolution to flourish. The poverty in the rural areas perpetuates the conflict, forcing the farmers to look for extra income elsewhere. For example, in some regions, farmers will often house the militants to earn the extra cash. Thus, it is crucial that the Government takes action to provide proper opportunities to the farmers.

In addition to the rural areas, there is also a need to understand why there is dissatisfaction in the urban community, which has become the center of militancy. Since 1989, the majority of terrorist activity reported to date has tended to be concentrated in

[78] Ibid
[79] Ibid

the summer capital Srinagar. The 1975 Development Review Committee's Report on industrial development stated that, "with a rapidly increasing population, expanding and easily accessible education and the growing pressure on land, the creation of new and productive avenues of non-agricultural employment has become a pressing need." The development of modern industry would be one such avenue to provide opportunities for absorbing technically qualified people. It is argued that the urban bias discussed earlier did not provide sufficient benefits to the urban population. Self-seeking bureaucrats and private individuals manipulated government subsidies. This accounts for the state's poor industrial performance over a period of 40 years as a result of which underemployment and unemployment have grown into severe problems that may have fuelled the disagreements[80].

Therefore, if Kashmir has to become an Independent Economic entity, it is important to take steps that welcome the maximum possible investment of private capital and entrepreneurship in the state. Unfortunately the incentives available to private investors have not been as attractive in other states, which meant that Kashmir failed to generate sufficient capital from the private sector. Unlike rapid movement towards Privatization in other parts of the country, most of the existing large and medium scale industries are state owned. There are several factors responsible for such poor outcomes. Kashmir is a land locked region and it was given a special status granted to the state by the central Government under Article 370 which bars non-Kashmiris from owning property within the State.

[80] Ibid

Since most of the State owned enterprises are highly inefficient, the contribution of the industrial sector to the state's economy over the past four decades has been minimal. This is because most of the industrial units run by the state have consistently suffered huge losses, developing into a permanent drain on the state exchequer. All the revenue from sales of these units is being absorbed by costs. Since none of the revenue is generating profits or being used to create efficiency in production, the enterprises fail to be efficient or even profitable for that matter.

Such economic problems have perpetuated the problems in Kashmir. It is clear that the alienation of the Kashmiri people has been driven disillusionment in the state's economic policies. Their ideals and aspirations have been thwarted by a series of the corrupt government officials, as well as the misguided policies of the central government. Therefore, a genuine solution to the conflict depends on restoring Kashmir's confidence in a democratic and secular India with the creation of new job opportunities (within the state and in other parts of the country), a clean administration and political freedom.

VI The Future

In 2005 there is still no end to the insurgency. However the insurgents who were once Kashmiris are now mostly foreigners, predominantly Pakistanis and Afghans. Al-Qaeda also had a presence there, as confirmed by John Walker Lindh, the 'American Taliban', who spent a few months in Kashmir fighting the Indian Army. Post September 11, with the insurgency now being seen by most nations as mostly terrorist in nature, India has the upper hand. They have diplomatically worked the issue in their favor internationally and most believe now that Pakistan cannot win Kashmir. In the late 1990s, Pakistan's then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif acknowledged in private to India's Prime Minister Vajpayee, "Kashmir ko hum len nahin sakte hain, aur aap de nahin sakte ho"[81]. This means Pakistan acknowledges that it does not have the (military) capability to take Kashmir and the Indian Government does not have its people's consent to give it away. Now in 2003 India has the upper hand, however it would be a tragic turn of events if India simply resolves the issue with Pakistan and does not work with the Kashmiri people.

Conclusions

We argue the Kashmiris, particularly the Muslims, always desired a great degree of independence after centuries of being ruled by others. Since Kashmiris could not create their own Independent nation due to its impracticality, it remained a part of the Indian

Union. Generations of Kashmiris were proud Indians, celebrating events such as India's independence, as well as for example supporting Indian sporting achievements and enjoying its cinema.

In the 1980s, it is difficult to distinguish whether the generation of youth that caused the insurgency were motivated by a genuine dissatisfaction with the democratic processes of the state, or whether this generation was simply the product of the deliberate propaganda campaign and fundamentalist indoctrination that was sweeping the Arab world. It is likely that it was a combination of both forces. Ultimately, when the insurgents were offered arms by Pakistan, it seemed an easier way to speak against the corrupt government they perceived, besides receiving much needed money for doing so.

Pakistan had always wanted Kashmir, for it symbolized the justification for its own existence; that the Muslims needed their own nation. As Sheikh Abdullah pointed out in his speech explaining why he chose India, the 40 million Muslims remaining in India in 1947 far outnumbered the 27 million in then West Pakistan[82], so religion alone could not be the deciding factor. Pakistan continued to strive for Kashmir, launching the surprise 1965 war and then ultimately arming the Kashmiri insurgency. Pakistan was rightly upset Kashmir joined India as at the time Pakistan invaded the independent Kashmir, the Kashmiris were swaying towards joining Pakistan. While decades passed

---

[81] Former Deputy Chief of Indian Army, General Moti Dar quoted Pakistan's then Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif to have told India's Prime Minister Vajpayee in private in about 1997.

[82] In 1947, at the time of partition, the population figures were 330, 27 and 30 million people in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh respectively.
http://www.swordoftruth.com/swordoftruth/archives/readersvoice/wpoiotoil.html

and India considered Kashmir an integral part of India, the Pakistanis plotted away their final seizure of Kashmir.

It was ultimately these external forces and the spread of Islamic Fundamentalism to the Kashmir Valley that were instrumental in bringing about the insurgency of the late 1980s. Since that time, Kashmir has become overrun by these forces, and yet again the voice of Kashmir has become muffled under a global Islamic agenda.

The grievances which allowed the above forces to grab the attention of the Kashmiris was a result of the clear dominance by the elite oligarchy. If India were to accept the oligarchy's demands for more autonomy, as the new State Government is suggesting currently, they shall continue to alienate the Kashmiri people. We believe Article 370 allowed Kashmir to remain undeveloped and allowed the oligarchy to not only retain power but to misuse it. By removing it, and bringing the common Kashmiri man closer to the ideals and values the rest of India has, Kashmir will find peace.

Furthermore, in coming to a long-lasting and sustainable resolution, we believe that the creation of an Independent Economic Zone in the valley would be the most effective means of bringing about lasting peace and prosperity.

Acknowledgements

I am immensely grateful to the following people were consulted and offered valuable help and information for this paper:

- Dr. K.N. Pandita, prominent Kashmiri scholar and journalist based in the United Kingdom. Previously taught at Kashmir University.
- Priyanka Bakaya, PhD, Stanford University
- Sumeet Batti, PhD, Stanford University
- Dr Shuja Nawaz, Distinguished Fellow at the Atlantic Council, A voice from Pakistan who helped this paper remain equivocal
- Anuradha Reddy, currently pursuing PhD at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Specialisation: Diplomatic Activities of Secessionist Groups of J&K
- The Jawans of Sutejgad Post, Jammu

Bibliography

1. Bazaz, Prem Nath, The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir; Cultural and Political, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, New Delhi: Pamposh Publications, 1954
2. Behera, Navnita Chadha, State, Identity and Violence: Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, Center for Policy Research, New Delhi: Manohar, 2000
3. Blinkenberg, Lars, India-Pakistan. The History of Unsolved Conflicts, Odense: Odense universtetsforlag, 1998
4. Crawford, B. and Lipschutz, R., The myth of "ethnic conflict": Politics, Economics, and "Cultural" Violence: "Cultural Conflict in India: Punjab and Kashmir", by Nirvikar Singh, United States: University of California, 1998.
5. Jagmohan, My Frozen Turbulence, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1992
6. Madan, T.N., Muslim Communities of South Asia: Culture, Society, and Power, 3rd Edition, Institute of Economic Growth, New Delhi: Manohar, 2001
7. Razdan, Omkar, The Trauma of Kashmir: The Untold Reality, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1999
8. Schofield, Victoria, Kashmir in Conflict, London / New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000
9. Sharma, Usha, Cultural, Religious and Economic Life of Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh, New Delhi: Radha Publications, 2001

Appendix A

Speech Of the Honorable Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah in the Constituent Assembly.

We are proud to have our bonds with India, the goodwill of those people and government is available to us in unstinted and abundant measure.

In order to live and prosper as good partners in a common endeavor for the advancement of our peoples, I would advise that, while safeguarding our autonomy to the fullest extent so as to enable us to have the liberty to build our country according to the best traditions and genius of our people, we may also by suitable constitutional arrangements with the Union establish our right to seek and compel Federal cooperation and assistance in this great task, as well as offer our fullest cooperation and assistance to the Union.

We as a Government are keen to let our people decide the future of our land in accordance with their own wishes. If these three preliminary processes were accomplished, we should be happy to have the assistance of international observes to ensure fair play and the requisite conditions for a free choice by the people.

The Cabinet Mission Plan has provided for three courses which may be followed by the Indian States when determining future affiliations. A State can either accede to India or accede to Pakistan, but failing to do either, it still can claim the right to remain independent. These three alternatives are naturally open to our State.

As a realist I am conscious that nothing is all black or all white, and there are many facts to each of the propositions before us. I shall first speak on the merits and demerits of the State's accession to India. In the final analysis, as I understand it, it is the kinship of ideals which determines the strength of ties between two States. The Indian National Congress has consistently supported the cause of the State's peoples' freedom. The autocratic rule of the Princes has been done away with and representative government have been entrusted with the administration. Steps towards democratization have been taken and these have raised the people's standard of living, brought about much-needed social reconstruction, and above all built up their very independence of spirit. Naturally, if we accede to India there is no danger of a revival of feudalism and autocracy. Moreover, during the last four years the Government of India has never tried to interfere in our internal autonomy this experience has strengthened our confidence in them as a democratic State.

The real character of a State is revealed in its Constitution. The Indian Constitution has set before the country the goal of secular democracy based upon justice, freedom and equality for all without distinction. This is the bedrock of modern democracy. This should meet the argument that the Muslims of Kashmir cannot have security in India, where the large majority of the population are Hindus. Any unnatural cleavage between religious groups is the legacy of Imperialism, and no modern State can afford to encourage artificial division if it is to achieve progress and prosperity. The Indian Constitution has amply and finally repudiated the concept of a religious State, which is a throw back to medievalism, by guaranteeing the equality of rights of all citizens irrespective of their religion, color caste and class.

The national movement in our State naturally gravitates towards these principles of secular democracy. The people here will never accept a principle which seeks to favor the interests of one religion or social group against another. This affinity in political principles, as well as in past association, and our common path of suffering in the cause of freedom, must be weighed properly while deciding the future of the State.

I shall refer now to the alleged disadvantages of accession to India.

To begin with, although the land frontiers of India and Kashmir are contiguous, an all-weather road-link as dependable as the one we have with Pakistan does not exist. This must necessarily hamper trade and commerce to some extent particularly during the snowy winter months. But we have studied this question, and, with improvements in modern engineering, if the State wishes to remain with India the establishment of an all-weather stable system of communication is both feasible and easy. Similarly, the use of the State rivers as a means of timber transport is impossible if we turn to India, except in Jammu where the river Chenab still carries logs to the plains. In reply to this argument, it may be pointed out that accession to India will open up possibilities of utilizing our forest wealth for industrial purposes and that, instead of lumber, finished goods, which will provide work for our carpenters and laborers, can be exported to India where there is a ready market for them. Indeed in the presence of our fleets of timber carrying trucks, river-transport is a crude system which inflicts a loss of some 20% to 35%, in transit.

Still another factor has to be taken into consideration. Certain tendencies have been asserting themselves in India which may in the future convert it into a religious State wherein the interests of Muslims will be jeopardized. This would happen if a communal organization had a dominant hand in the Government, and Congress ideals of the equality of all communities were made to give way to religious intolerance. The continued accession of Kashmir to India should, however, help in defeating this tendency. From my experience of the last four years, it is my considered judgment that the presence of Kashmir in the Union of India has been the major factor in establishing relations between the Hindus and Muslims of India. Gandhiji was not wrong when he uttered words before his death which paraphrase, "I lift up mine eyes into the hills, from whence cometh my help."

As I have said before, we must consider the question of accession with all open mind, and not let our personal prejudices stand in the way of a balanced judgment. I will now invite you to evaluate the alternative of accession to Pakistan.

The most powerful argument which can be advanced in her favor is that Pakistan is a Muslim State, and, big majority of our people being Muslims the State must accede to Pakistan. This claim of being a Muslim State is of course only a camouflage. It is a screen to dupe the common man, so that he may not see clearly that Pakistan is a feudal State in which a clique is trying by these methods to maintain itself in power. In addition to this, the appeal to religion constitutes a sentimental and a wrong approach to the question. Sentiment has its own place in life but often it leads to irrational action. Some argue, as supposedly natural corollary to this, that on our acceding to Pakistan our annihilation or survival depends. Facts have disproved this, right-thinking men would point out that Pakistan is not an organic unity of all the Muslims in this sub- continent. It has on the contrary, caused the dispersion of the Indian Muslims for whose benefit it was claimed to have been created. There are two Pakistans at least a thousand miles apart from each other. **The total population of**

Western Pakistan which is contiguous to our State, is hardly 15 million. While the total number of Muslims, resident in India is as many as 40 million. As one Muslim is as good as another, the Kashmiri Muslims if they are worried by such considerations should choose the forty millions living in India.

Looking at the matter too from a more modern political angle religious affinities alone do not and should not normally determine the political alliance of States. We do not find a Christian bloc, a Buddhist bloc, or even a Muslim bloc, about which there is so much talk nowadays in Pakistan. These days economic interests and a community of political ideals more appropriately influence the policies of States.

We have another important factor to consider, if the State decides to make this the predominant consideration. What will be the fate of the one million non-Muslims now in our State ? As things stand at present, there is no place for them in Pakistan. Any solution which will result in the displacement or the total subjugation of such a large number of people will not be just or fair, and it is the responsibility of this House to ensure that the decision that it takes on accession does not militate against the interests of any religious group.

As regards the economic advantages. I have mentioned before the road and river links with Pakistan. In the last analysis, we must however remember that we are not concerned only with the movement of people but also with the movement of goods and the linking up of markets. In Pakistan there is a chronic dearth of markets for our products. Neither, for that matter, can she help us with our industrialization, being herself industrially backward.

On the debit side we have to take into account the reactionary character of her politics and State policies. In Pakistan we should remember that the lot of the States' subjects has not changed and they are still helpless and under the heel of their Rulers, who wield the same unbridled power under which we used to suffer here. This clearly runs counter to our own aspirations for freedom.

Another big obstacle to a dispassionate evaluation of her policies is the lack of a constitution in Pakistan. As it stands at present, this State enjoys the unique position of being governed by a Constitution enacted by an outside Parliament which gives no idea whatsoever of the future shape of civic and social relations. It is reasonable to argue that Pakistan cannot have the confidence of a freedom-loving and democratic people when it has failed to guarantee even fundamental rights of its citizens. The right of self-determination for nationalities is being consistently denied and those who fought against Imperialism for this just right are being suppressed with force. We should remember Badshah Khan and his comrades who laid down their all for freedom, also Khan Abdus Samad Khan and other fighters, in Baluchistan. Our national movement in the State considers this right of self-determination inalienable, and no advantage, however great, will persuade our people to forego it.

The third course open to us has still to be discussed. We have to consider the alternative of making ourselves an Eastern Switzerland, of keeping aloof from both States but having friendly relations with them. This might seem attractive in that it would appear to pave the way out of the present deadlock. To us as a tourist country it could also have certain obvious advantages, but in considering independence we must not ignore practical considerations. Firstly, it is not easy to protect sovereignty and independence in a small country which has not sufficient strength to defend itself on our long and difficult frontiers bordering so many countries. Secondly we must have the goodwill of all our neighbors. Can we find powerful guarantors among them to pull together always in assuring us freedom from aggression? I would like to remind you that from August 15 to October 22, 1947 our State was independent and the result was that our weakness was exploited by the neighbor with invasion. What is the guarantee that in future too we may not be victims of a singular aggression.

I have now put the pros and cons of the three alternatives before you. It should not be difficult for men of discrimination and patriotism gathered in this Assembly to weigh all these in the scales of our national good and pronounce the well being of the country lies in the future.

Appendix B

Presidential Address of Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah, Muslim Conference,

March 26, 1938

Legal Document No 60

(Extract)

Like us the large majority of Hindus and Sikhs in the State have immensely suffered at the hands of the irresponsible government. They are also steeped in deep ignorance, have to pay large taxes and are in debt and starving. Establishment of responsible government is as much necessity for them as for us. Sooner or later these people are bound to join our ranks. No amount of propaganda can keep them away from us.

The main problem therefore before us is to organise joint action and a united front against the forces that stand in our way in the achievement of our goal. This will require re-christening our organization as a non- communal political body and introducing certain amendments in its constitution and its rules.

I reiterate today what I have said so often. Firstly, we must end communalism by ceasing to think in terms of Muslims and non-muslims when discussing our political problems. Secondly there must be universal suffrage on the basis of joint electorate, without these two democracy is lifeless.

You complain that the Hindus belonging to the vested interests are reactionary and stand in the way of our progress.

But have we not had the same experience in the case of capitalist Muslim also? It is significant as well as hopeful that in spite of many difficulties in their way some non-muslims have cooperated with us though their number is very small. Their sincerity and moral courage make us feel their strength. We must, therefore, open our doors to all such Hindus and Sikhs, who like ourselves believe in the freedom of their country from the shackles of an irresponsible rule

Appendix C

Mr. Jinah's Demand for a Seperate Homeland for Muslims,

March 22, 1940

Legal Document No 69

(Extract)

As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it and, you know, there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who take. interest in the problems of India's future Constitution and we have also appointed a sub-committee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear. It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Mussulmans are a Minority and of course we have got used to it for such long time that these setlled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Mussulmans are not a Minority. The Mussulmans are a nation by any definition. The British and particular.y the Congress proceed on the basis, well, you are a Minority after all what do you want ? What elso do the minorities want ? Just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Mussulmans are not a Minority. We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country, where We Mussalmans are in a majority such as Bengal, the Punjab, Northwest Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan.

The problem in India is not of an inter -communal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any Constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Mussulmans but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into "autonomous national states." There is no reason why these states should be ante gonistic to secure to each other. On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political superamacy over the other in the of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural good will by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to Minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adj vestments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and affectively safeguard tile rights and interests of Muslims and various ether

Minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fad! to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are. in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindu and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality and this misconception of one Indian nation lies gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of your troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to too different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are deferent.. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussulmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victory and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

Muslims of India cannot accept any Constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu Majority Government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic System forced upon the Minorities can only mean Hindu Raj. Democracy of the kind with which tile Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experiences of the working of the Provincial Constitutions during the last two and a half years and any repetition of such a Government must lead to civil war and raising of private armies as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukhur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow, and if they could not, they must emigrate.

Mussulmans are not a Minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even today, according to the British map of India, 4 out of It Provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-cooperate and prepare for civil disobedience. Mussulmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their State. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritiual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and the vital interests of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we

cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Appendix D

Jinnah's Address to Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, 1944

Legal Document No 82

(Extract)

As I said at the moment I reached Jammu, it is not the policy of the Muslim League to interfere with the internal administration of this State or the grave and serious issues that face the Maharaja and his Government, as between him and his people, but we are certainly very deeply concerned with the welfare of the Mussalmans in the State, and I must say that even a casual visitor cannot but be shocked to see the condition of the people in this State, even in matters of their elementary needs and necessities. Sir B.N. Rao has just taken charge as the Prime Minister of the State, and now the people are looking up to him and expecting that he will take effective measures for their betterment.

As regards the Mussalmans, as I said, we are vitally concerned with their welfare, but I regret that although Sheikh Abdullah and his party and the Muslim Conference discussed matters with me in Delhi and in Lahore before my arrival here and were good enough to accord me a great reception, and were anxious that I should hear both sides and bring about a settlement, when I, after careful consideration, suggested that the Mussalmans should organize themselves under one flag and on one platform, not only my advice was not acceptable to Sheikh Abdullah but, as is his habit, which has become a second nature with him, he indulged in all sorts of language of a most offensive and vituperative character in attacking me. My advice to the Mussalmans is that the differences can only be resolved by argument, discussion, exchange of views, and reason and not by goondaism and one thing that I must draw the attention of Kashmir Government about is that goondaism must be put down at any cost, and there should be constitutional liberty of speech and freedom of thought, which is the elementary right of every citizen under any civilized form of Government.

Appendix E

Resolution Kisan Mazdoor Conference, September 5, 1947.

Legal Document No 108

(Extract)

The most important national problem facing the people of Jammu and Kashmir at the present moment is whether the State should accede to India or to Pakistan. The future of the country depends on the solution of this problem. If it is solved in a right way the four million State people can live peacefully and comfortably in future; they will then also make sound progress. Otherwise the State shall have to face civil war and ruin. Five months ago meetings of the Working Committee and the General Council of the Kisan Mazdoor Conference were held at Achhabal on 6th and 7th April. A resolution was adopted in these meetings advising the Maharaja of Kashmir that after establishing friendly relations with both the Congress and the Muslim League he should declare the independence of the State and that simultaneously he should introduce complete responsible Government in the country. Things have moved with lightening rapidity during past five months. On 3rd June the British Government announce a plan of India's independence which has been accepted by both the Congress and the Muslim League. According to the plan the subcontinent has been partitioned on the very day of independence. Today the two dominions of India and Pakistan are in existence. The basic principle which guided the partition of the country according to 3rd June plan was that all the provinces and districts where Hindus are in majority have been included in the Indian Union and all those regions where Muslims are is a majority have been put together to form Pakistan. The provinces of the Punjab and Bengal have been divided into two parts each under the operation of the same principle. The district of Sylhet in Assam has also been included in the province of East Pakistan according to it.

British statesmen and the Indian politicians particularly the Congress leaders have advised the native rulers that they should join either of the two dominions and should in no case remain independent. Lord Mountbatten in his capacity as Viceroy made an important pronouncement that while deciding to accede to either dominion the Princes should take into consideration the geographical position of their respective States, that is, tile right decision for a State will be to accede to the dominion which is adjacent to it.

The Working Committee of the Kisan Mazdoor Conference has fully and carefully considered the developments of the last five months.

It has also consulted the majority of the members of the General Council of the Conference. The Committee is of the opinion that there is now no alternative before the State but to join Pakistan. If she does not do so, the country and its people shall have to face immense trials and tribulations.

Hundreds of the States have already acceded to either the Indian Union or Pakistan in accordance with the principle on the basis of which the subcontinent was partioioned. At present only two of the States... Kashmir and Hyderabad...remain which have taken no decision yet. Recent developments show that these two states also cannot remain aloof for a long time and soon they shall have to decide about their future.

The overwhelming majority of Kashmir's population is Muslim. The State is contiguous with Pakistan territories. All the three big highways and all the rivers of the State go into Pakistan. For these reasons the Working Committee is of the opinion that the State should cede to Pakistan. This alone will be the natural and the right course to adopt. The state cannot remain independent; nor can it, owing to its overwhelming Muslim population and being adjacent to the Pakistan territories, accede to India. The Working Committee hold the view that the majority of the population desire to accede to Pakistan and the welfare of the 39 Lakhs of peasants and workers also lies in this.

The Working Committee appeals to all the people of the State in general, to whatever section, caste or creed they belong, and the working classes in particular that they should unanimously request the Maharaja to declare the State's accession to Pakistan.

If the Maharaja entertains any doubts about the obvious public opinion that the State should accede to Pakistan then he should order a referendum in which all adults should have the right to vote on the issue whether the State should accede to India or to Pakistan.

The Working Committee hopes that the people from all parts of the State will support this democratic method of solution so that peace is maintained and the country can progress.

Appendix F

Resolution of Kashmir Socialist Party dated September 18, 1947.

Legal Document No 109

(Extract)

The Kashmir Socialist party has given their best and closest consideration to the question whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir should accede to India or to Pakistan or it should remain independent. The Party is of the opinion that in view of the developments during the last few months the natural and the best course for the State to adopt would be to join Pakistan and not India. For obvious and substantial reasons the Party believes that the State cannot remain independent. After mature consideration the Party has arrived at the decision that in the best interests of the poor and backward people accesion to Pakistan is desirable. The Party impresses upon the Maharaja that without any further unnecessary delay he should make an announcement accordingly.

Appendix G

Maharaja's Accession offer to India.

Legal Document No 112

Text of letter dated October 26, J 947 from Sri Hari Singh, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to Lord Mountbatten the Governor-General of India.

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have to inform your Excellency that a grave emergency has arisen in my State and request immediate assistance of your Government.

As your Excellency is aware the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not acceded to the Dominion of India or to Pakistan. Geographically my State is contiguous to both the Dominions. It has vital economical end cultural links with both of them. Besides my State has a common boundary with the Soviet Republic and China. In their external relations and Dominion of India and Pakistan cannot ignore this fact.

I wanted to take time to decide to which Dominion I should accede, or whether it is not in the best interests of both the Dominions and my State to stand independent, of course with friendly and cordial relations with both.

I accordingly approached the Dominions of India and Pakistan to enter into Standstill Agreement with my State. The Pakistan Government accepted this Agreement. The Dominion of India desired further discussions with representatives of my Government. l could not arrange this in view of the developments indicated below. In fact the Pakistan Government are operating Post and Telegraph system inside the State.

Though we have got a Standstill Agreement with the Pakistan Government permitted steady and increasing strangulation of supplies like food, salt and petrol to my State.

Afridis, soldiers in plain clothes, and desperadoes with modern weapons have been allowed to infliter into the State at first in Poonch and then in Sialkot and finally in mass area adjoining Hazara District on the Ramkot side. The result has been that the limited number of troops at the disposal of the State had to be dispersed and thus had to face the enemy at the several points simultaneously, that it has become difficult to stop the wanton destruction of life and property and looting. The Mohara power-house which supplies the electric current to the whole of Srinagar has been burnt. The number of women who have been kidnapped and raped and makes my heart bleed. The wild forces thus let loose on the State are marching on with the aim of capturing Srinagar, the summer Capital of my Government, as first step to over running the whole State.

The mass infiltration tribesman drawn from the distant areas of the

North-West Frontier coming regularly in motor trucks using Mansehra-Muzaffarabad Road and fully armed with up-to-date weapons cannot possibly be done without the knowing of the Provincial Government of the North-West Frontier Province and the Government of Pakistan. In spite of repeated requests made by my Government no attempt has been made to check these raiders or stop them from coming to my State. The Pakistan Radio even put out a story that a Provisional Government has been set up in Kashmir. The people of my State both the Muslims generally have taken no part at all.

With the conditions obtaining at present in my State and to great emergency of the situation as it exists, I hay" no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally they cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to the Domination of India. I have accordingly decided to do so and I attach the Instrument of Accession for; acceptance by your Government. The other alternative is to leave my State and my people to fee-booters. On this basis no civilized Government can exist or be maintained. The alternative I will never allow to happen as long as I am Ruler of the State and I have life to defend my country.

I may also inform your Excellency's Government that it is my intention at once to set up an interim Government and ask Shaikh Abdullah to carry the responsibilities in this emergency with my Prime Minister.

If my State has to be saved immediate assistance must be available at Srinagar. Mr. Menon is fully aware of the situation and he will explain to you, if further explanation is needed.

In haste and with kindest regards.

Yours Sincerely
Hari Singh
The Palace, Jammu
26th October, 1947.

Appendix H

Strategic mistakes by our strategic thinkers[83]

Farrukh Saleem wonders if too much tactics has deprived us of strategic thinking

---

President Ronald Reagan taught us two things: jihadi militancy and proxy war. From 1981 till 1989, Reagan used jihadi militancy as an instrument of his foreign policy. Some six billion CIA dollars ˜matched dollar to dollar by the Saudis˜ went into setting up a massive infrastructure of madrassahs where jihadis were trained and then launched into Afghanistan to bleed the Red Army. Reagan succeeded beyond success.

As a consequence, the Soviet Union is no more. The country split into at least 15 pieces that few even bother to count. There is the Russian Federation, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

The last Soviet soldier walked out of Afghanistan on 5 April 1989. With Russians gone back to whence they had come, the United States abandoned the jihadis and everyone who supported them. Our strategic thinkers picked up where Reagan had left it. They had already fought a couple of awfully expensive full-scale conventional wars but Kashmir couldn't be resolved.

India, in the meanwhile, fell into a trap by rigging the 1988 Kashmir elections. Following the stage-managed elections, indigenous Kashmiris took up arms demanding autonomy. New Delhi responded by imposing Presidential Rule and the suspension of all local authority.
This was followed by a massive troop movement of some quarter-million soldiers and paramilitary forces (official Indian sources put the figure at 150,000 troops) in addition to some fifty battalions of Border Security Forces, the Territorial Army, the National Indo-Tibetan Border Police, the National Security Guards and the Jammu and Kashmir Armed Police.

In two years that followed the rigged elections, Indian forces managed to turn Srinagar into a city of cemeteries killing some 20,000 Kashmiris and making many more homeless. Two years of massacres and the accompanying rampant unemployment, Kashmiris were exhausted. They decided to give up arms seeking alternatives to fulfilling their thrust for autonomy.

When Kashmiris were laying down their arms, a good fifty thousand hard-core veterans of the ten-year (1979-1989) Afghan jihad were being left with no war to fight. Our generals decided to do a Reagan on India. The plan was to use the war-addicted Afghans as a cheap source to keep a good 25% of the entire Indian army occupied in counter-insurgency undertakings. This formalized a `principal-agent' relationship between Pakistan and various mujahideen groupings. The indigenous, secular Kashmiri struggle for autonomy was gradually

---

[83] Saleem, Farrukh, *Pakistan's* *The Friday Times*, July 4-11, 2002 – Vol. XIV, No. 19

snatched away by `foreign mujahideen', the so-called Islamist militants, `guest warriors' or simply the jihadis.

The ingenious, inexpensive, jihadi alternative of "bleeding the Indian army" was going on quite well. Then came September 11 and the world changed. The enraged United States asked Pakistan to either join the war on terrorism or else∑ To save Pakistan, we had to do unto the Taliban what Reagan had done to us.

In the post September 11 period, our strategic thinkers miscalculated once again. They thought, with America on their side, they could fire up Kashmir. The firing-up backfired.

India took full advantage of the changed world. Vajpayee managed to re-label `guest warriors' as `cross-border terrorists' and Pakistan as the source of this `cross-border terrorism'.

America demanded from Pakistan to end the principal-agent relationship. We now claim that we have put an end to the relationship and that the ex-agents are going out on their own; at times even hurting the ex-principal's interests. Our credibility as it is, the world has difficulty believing us.

How did India win without even a real fight? Is it because India has been democratic for the past 54 years? Is it because Indian generals only suggest war tactics and leave national strategies to civilian politicians?

In Almaty, we signed the "Declaration on Eliminating Terrorism". We signed that "The Member States shall not support on the, territory of another Member State any separatist movements∑(Clause 18)" and that "We reject the use of religion as a pretext by terrorists and separatist∑(Clause 19)."

Are we serious about our pledge of "permanently ending cross-border infiltration" or is it a transient tactical withdrawal? India seems to be on top of a winning streak. All that we are left with is tactics. Our strategic thinkers are empty on strategy.

The so-called package on constitutional amendments is another mistake that in time will backfire. The long-held military monopoly on national security is actually threatening our national security like never before. Diplomatic defeat of our strategic thinkers is nearing completion. Does Pakistan, the patient under extended military care now needs some civilian blood to survive?

Appendix I

Examples of National Conference's anti-India

Propaganda used in the 1984 Election Campaign

Appendix J

Kashmir Herald, Volume 2, No. 9 - February 2003

Kashmir Question

K.N. Pandita

Editor's Note: *[Readers are recommended to take a look at Chandrashekhar Dasgupta's 'War and Diplomacy in Kashmir, 1947-48, for a detailed expose of why India could not drive out Pakistani forces from J&K and why India went to the UN Security Council. The review of that book is available in our Herald archives at* ***War & Diplomacy****.]*

Retrospect

As the British withdrew from the Indian subcontinent on 15 August 1947, their policy planners worked out a strategy of joint defence for India and Pakistan called Auchinleck Plan after the name of the then Indian Army Chief. It was a defence strategy against the Soviet Union.

With Nehru a known socialist, Anglo-American lobby cultivated Pakistan as a dependable bulwark against communism in South Asia. British policy planners working through their lobbies wanted independent Jammu & Kashmir to remain within the sphere of their influence. It was part of the policy of containment of communism.

Ramchand Kak, the Prime Minister of the State, was a key figure. A section of commentators believes that Kashmiri lobby in Delhi contrived the dismissal of Kak more as vendetta than political reprisal. Kak's removal was followed by an armed uprising in Mirpur by the WW II disbanded Sudans with promptings from outside. This was a precursor to an incursion by the tribesmen of Pakistan's North West Frontier Province meticulously planned and executed by the Pakistani military and civilian combine.

A question asked is when accession was legally made by the ruler and endorsed by the popular leader of J&K State, where did the need of subjecting its finality to the will of the people arise? Governor General, Lord Mountbatten proposed it and Prime Minister Nehru accepted it. Commentators say that Nehru intended to seek the will of the people through their elected representatives.

Another question in this context is why did India agree to stop her troops at the present Line of Control when she could have captured Muzaffarabad and thereby controlled the whole of strategic Northern Areas? It will be blatant distortion of facts to accuse Sheikh Abdullah of forcing ethnic divide on Nehru. Close examination of the events reveals that from Lord Mountbatten, the Governor General of independent India down to the ordinary British army officer in the Indian army at this point of time saw to it that the strategic towns of Domel and Muzaffarabad, controlling the Nornthern Areas where the border met with the then Soviet Union, China, Afghanistan -- besides India or Pakistan -- did not go into the hands of the Indian troops.

Again it is asked why did Nehru take the Kashmir question to the Security Council despite opposition by most of his cabinet colleagues? Observers say that India's complaint was lodged under Article 35 of the UN Charter and sought vacation of aggression by a neighboring country. It was Lord Mountbatten again, working in close cooperation with the Labour government headed by Attlee in London who persuaded Nehru to take Kashmir case to the Security Council. He thought at least the USA, having had the experience of colonial rule, would support India in the SC. But the ground reality was something different. The Soviet representative had cautioned the Indian delegation of Anglo-American hostility.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Security Council accepted India's contention that accession was made on the basis of the ruler's decision and popular leader's endorsement. It means the SC accepted the legality of India's position in Kashmir.

Earlier the British Indian rulers had tried to induct the Ahmadiya factor in furthering the idea of independent Kashmir. Through Sir Zafrullah Khan, they had contrived the inclusion of Gurdaspur district into Pakistan, blocking J&K State's road link to West Punjab. Kadiyan, the Ahmadiya headquarter fell in Gurdaspur. Ironically, half a century later, Amanullah Khan, the JKLF leader based in London, had also been hobnobbing with the Ahmadiayas for the independence of Greater Muslim Kashmir.

Anglo-American support to Pakistani stand on Kashmir at the Security Council was a clear message that they had not abandoned the Islamic cause in spite of creating the Israeli state on the Arab land. Sheikh Abdullah paused musing where this might lead to.

Royists (Radical Humanists), the first among Kashmiri ideologues campaigning for Kashmir's accession to Pakistan in 1947, worked for the British intelligence before the CPI joined hands with them when the Soviet Union decided to join WW II. Premnath Bazaz, a pioneer Royist in Kshmir, was friendly with Pakistan. His work Freedom Struggle in Kashmir published in 1954 was considered a defence of Pakistan's stand in Kashmir. The Sheikh banished him and his close associate Kanhayalal Kaul from Kashmir in 1949. Interestingly, Amanullah Khan of JKLF nominated Premnath Bazaz's son, Bushan Bazaz to the provisional cabinet of 'Independent J&K' in 1992. Human Rights propagandists and self-styled liberals like Justice Tarkunde and Rajinder Sachar tow the same line.

At one time, the British colonialists wanted to establish permanent British settlement in Kashmir Valley because of its Europe-like climate and incredible scenic beauty. The Tribune of September 26, 1885 and The Pioneer of 22 October 1885 carried articles on this subject. Kashmir was also a good centre for overland trade with Central Asia. The Maharaja was desired to allow the British traders and businessmen settle in Kashmir. This was the time when some highly dedicated missionaries arrived in Kashmir and engaged themselves in their assigned task.

However, the British, apprehensive of looming Russian shadow adopted hostile attitude towards the Maharaja of Kashmir. They also used the lever of sensitizing local Muslims to religious sentiment against the Hindu Maharaja in order to weaken him.

Under Maharaja Pratap Singh (1894 - 1925) the situation worsened. Communism had come to stay in Central Asia. British colonial power intensified communal feelings among the Muslims in Kashmir, and in 1931 there was the first communal clash. Muslim communalism was championed by the Muslim Conference, the state-level political party.

Ahmadiyas and the Left

Ahmadiyas and Indian communists forged an understanding of sorts on Kashmir. The latter thought in terms of international socialism ignoring the sharp difference in perception with the Ahmadiyas. Kashmir also was an important theme in Soviet strategy in Central Asia and the whole perception was based on B.T. Ranade theory called BTR Line. The Crossroad, edited by Romesh Thapar, enunciated the theory. Communist theoreticians debated on the right of self-determination. It is not known whether BTR Line had kept track of fierce debates on the subject of the right of self-determination that had ensued among the Communist ideologues like Rosa Luxemberg shortly after the London Commune. It is also not known whether the Lenin formula about the right of secession of a federating unit was ever applied by the BTR Line in the case of Kashmir.

B.T. Ranade's note to the Kashmir communists read," If people vote for Pakistan, do not raise hands. If they vote for independence, do not say no, and if they vote for India, raise your hands." A thoroughly

opportunist line it was. The central question was left unanswered. The Left group in NC posed the question "Why not join Pakistan?"

The Sheikh was enamoured of the CPI line especially of its concept of the right of self-determination. However in Sopore Convention of NC in 1945, Nehru had said that unnecessary importance was given to the idea. The communists had supported the 'Two Nations theory' through Adhikari thesis, which described the creation of Pakistan as an _expression of the right of self-determination. CPI sent BPL Bedi and Freda Bedi to play up the "Independent Kashmir" card. Freda, of Irish extraction with British connections, tried to influence the Sheikh for independent Kashmir. She wrote the first ever biography of the Sheikh titled Sheikh Abdullah and his Ideals.

Communists described Kashmir's accession to India a "treachery" (The Crossroad, 6 January 1950) and supported a Telangana type movement. Om Saraf, a veteran journalist of Jammu fought against it with great determination.

So far, both the Soviets and the Americans, were pushing their agenda in Kashmir. The communists perceived Kashmir's leadership of Asian socialist revolution. However political circles got the wind that Sheikh had come closer to the Americans.

America steps in

Sheikh Abdullah's detention in August 1953 was the logical consequence of his Anglo-American connections. It, however, forced the Anglo-American bloc to recast its agenda for Kashmir. Destabilization of India could be the key to new dispensation. "Operation Brahmaputra" and the later Jean Kirk Patrick Plan of 1980s focused on vivisection of Christian-Mongoloid North East from the Hindu-Aryan mainland of India. Around this time the Americans made intellectual invasion into India making Indian universities the ground where seeds of destabilization and vivisection could be sown. Viable catalysts were the intellectuals, political scientists, minority academics and educationists. It bred ethnic separatism or sub-nationalism seeking to break the cultural cohesion of India. Ford Foundation and its beneficiaries were put to the task. Experts and specialists on South Asia were to work as pathfinders. In 1960, Selig Harrison predicted the disintegration of India in his work India: The Most Dangerous Decades. There were others also. Selig Harrison organized a seminar in June 1990 on Kashmir Question at Oxford. Kashmiri Muslim doctors, currently on deputation to the Gulf States, had financed it and two Kashmiri personalities attended on behalf of Kashmir militants. The "Independent or Near Independent Greater Muslim Kashmir" plan circulated by Selig Harrison is precisely the plan which the CIA in concert with ISI and the Saudi Intelligence had been working upon since 1977.

The Sheikh preferred 'Independent Kashmir" even after the accession. Tribal attack and combination of forces had prompted him to accept State's accession to the Indian Union.

However, under new combination of forces, he had tried to revoke the accession in 1953. Ram Manohar Lohia explained his Kashmiriyat as Muslim identity. Jinnah disregarded regional satraps. Nehru eulogized him and lionized him as a great secularist and anti-feudal. This encouraged the Sheikh to do away with landed properties of people without compensation, which Congress itself did not do in India.

Sher-Bakra socio-political cleavage in Kashmirian society obstructed outright resistance to accession. It got identified as India-Pakistan factor. It was pursued in inner circles but the moderates apprehended persecution in Pakistan.

Back from Lake Success, the Sheikh released Chaudhury Abbas from jail hoping it would help independence move. He thought even Nehru would not be averse to independence. The Scotsman published his most controversial interview in 1949. He linked up with Agha Khan as a conduit for reaching the Pakistanis.

Kashmir Muslim bureaucracy

Top bureaucrats met in Odeon Hotel, Srinagar, in early 1949 to chart a strategy for a pro-Pakistan movement. Their immediate concern was forging separate Muslim Identity for Kashmiris. Their strategy was not to dismantle the old autocratic structure of administration but to supplant Pandit and Dogra in-service cadres by Kashmiri Muslims. Muslim educated youth were inducted into sensitive positions. Islamisation of society was the basis of this thinking.

Kashmiriyat

Even some National Conference leaders had reservations about accession to India. The quest for Muslim precedence was given the name of Kashmiriyat, which came into sharp conflict with the religious minorities inside the state as well as secularist operatives of the union government. Article 370 of the Indian Constitution is the result of a conflict between the imperatives of Indian secularism and Muslim sub-nationalism. It continued even after 1953.

The Climax

Family oligarchy emerged in Kashmir between 1948 and 1953. Blackmailing tactics worked. Corruption and misrule brought alienation in trail. Those who protested were branded as pro-Pakistani. Local bureaucracy behaved arbitrarily like the area commanders of Kashmir insurgents. People identified them with Indian agents. This was the beginning of alienation of people in Kashmir.

Plebiscite

Nehru's commitment to plebiscite, which he had clearly and forcefully stated in writing to the UN Commission for India and Pakistan in the context of UNCIP Resolution of April 13, 1948, meant _expression of free will through elected representatives. But with that a negative consciousness dawned upon the Kashmiris that a factor more powerful than India served a cue for the choice of reversal of existing relationship with India.

At the UN

India’s precise application was the vacation of aggression in Kashmir. Warren Austin, the US representative in the SC aggressively suggested for "neutral interim administrator" in J&K. Noel-Baker the British representative supported him. Ayyengar, the leader of the Indian delegation was shocked. Sheikh Abdullah thought India was week-kneed on Kashmir issue.

It was Tarashenkov, the Ukrainian delegate who bailed out Ayyengar. How could a weak India support his domineering position in Kashmir, the Sheikh thought. Kuomintang representative Dr. Tsiang moved the resolution in SC on March 18, 1948. The Times of London wrote that the implication was "virtual suppression of the ordinary power of Kashmir government over its military and police forces in favour of an authority, which though nominally a part of the government, would, in practice, be responsible to the Security Council." Nehru’s initial negative response was washed down by Mountbatten.

National Conference’s General Council rejected the UN resolution calling the leadership to mobilize people. Anglo-American bloc prepared the ground to foist Admiral Nimitz as Plebiscite Administrator. New York Times of 23 August 1948 flashed the news "Nimitz as arbiter in Kashmir urged".

The proposal of arbitrating in Kashmir drawn up in a secret session of UNCIP was leaked to the U.S. and U.K. governments before it reached New Delhi. President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee emphasized on arbitration.

MacNaughten formula stipulated demilitarization of Kashmir and leaving Northern Areas under the control of "Azad Kashmir". NC opposed MacNaughton formula of demilitarization and plebiscite. General Frank Dever, a former Chief of the US Army Field Forces unfolded the plan for demilitarization.

Jacob Malik, the Soviet representative at the UN explained the Anglo-US plan of converting Kashmir into an imperialist trust territory of the US and UK. Frank Graham, the Chairman of UNCIP happened to be the Adviser to the US President on Defence Manpower in the Department of Labour. Even Eisenhower's name was once mentioned as Plebiscite Administrator.

America again

In May 1953, Foster Dulles met with Nehru. The Weekly Message from Delhi reported that Dulles had put forward a plan for a trizonal division of Kashmir with a zone each going to India and Pakistan, the valley being either "internationalized" for a certain period of time till a plebiscite was held under the UN control or being ruled by a semi-independent government."

Nehru sounded Mohammed Ali Bogra, the Pakistani Prime Minister. Both asserted that Kashmir would not be allowed to become another Korea. Their joint assertion was a rebuff to the imperialists. Nimitz prepared to resign. Under agreement an imparatial plebiscite administrator was to be appointed by the J&K Government. Within a month, Pakistani PM resiled and demanded that plebiscite be held under the aegis of the UN. It seems that external forces had lobbied well. Soon the US began exploring military agreement with Pakistan.

Accord of 1975

Plebiscite Front had kept the secessionist sentiment alive in Kashmir. It exposed post - 1947 generation of Kashmiri Muslims to the Pakistan ideology. The question may be asked: why could pro-Pak groups not emerge in a big way at this point of time? The answer is (a) Sheikh Abdullah had a long legacy of anti-Pakistan posture (b) Plebiscite Front had appropriated other platforms of pro-Pak groups.

By 1972, realization dawned in Plebiscite Front that subversion from outside would not work. Hence subversion from inside was to be tried. G.M Sadiq's regime had initiated liberalization policy more as antidote to the hegemonic regime of the Sheikh and arbitrary rule of Bakshi. Ground was prepared for 1975 Accord. 1977 elections were termed by the NC as referendum on the status of Kashmir. NC cultivated secessionists selectively and promised to open Rawalpindi road. Its moves were subtle -- rock salt, green kerchief etc. It spoke in prattles of rock salt, shalwar and kameez and green handkerchief. Dressed in flowing kurta and shalwar, the Sheikh offered namaz in his secretariat office.

Onwards of Accord

This was ushered in an era of diatribes and antics of NC. It claimed that the right of self-determination had never been ruled out. However, it said strategic re-adjustment was worked out. Lack of ideological cohesion in NC now forced its downslide. It had started dilatory and divisive tactics on the finality of accession.

1979 is a watershed in the growth of subversive movement in Kashmir. Z.A. Bhutto had pledged to fight for a thousand years for the cause of "oppressed Kashmiri Muslims." Bhutto's execution unleashed mad frenzy against the Jamaat-e-Islami cadres in Kashmir. Zia had called them the progeny of the Brahmins.

But sooner than later, Kashmiris changed the trend and now the erstwhile "Zia kodeh" (the whip wielder) of their description became "Mard-i-Momin Mard-i-Haq, Ziau'l Haq Ziau'l Haq" (The Faithful among the men, the Truthful Zia). Other slogans reflected religious ties with Pakistan. Thus Pakistan for Kashmiris meant Islam, and freedom for Kashmiris meant Pakistan. Those who coined and floated these slogans went on to form the "secular" Jammu Kashmir Liberation Force (JKLF)

Curiously, Kashmiri Muslims seldom tried to look up for democratic and progressive forces in Pakistan to draw inspiration from them.

Greater Muslim Kashmir

In 1970, the plan of 'Greater Muslim Kashmir' was drawn jointly by the CIA, ISI and the Saudi intelligence (Istekhbarat) at International Islamic Foundation Movement (Rabitau'l Islam) in Saudi Arabia. Ar-Rabita has over a hundred branches spread all over the world.

It was concretized into what came to be known as Operation Topac. The Rabita has been given the Wahhabi orientation and Dr. Ayub Thukar (in London) directed the movement in Kashmir.

Greater Muslim Kashmir, to which Selig Harrison refers, envisaged not only secession of Kashmir from India but also incorporates grand design to destabilize India through ethnic and communal separatist movements carried on through terror and subversion.

Saudi role in 1979-mob violence in Kashmir may not be known precisely. Grapevine has it that Saudis played a mediator role between the NC leadership and different fundamentalist and separatist lobbies in Kashmir. Part of the exercise was holding of international Islamic conferences in Srinagar for the first time in which important Saudi "religious personalities and scholars" were invited.

The real purpose was to inspire Muslim solidarity and jihad against India. In 1981, the sister of the Saudi king paid two successive visits to Kashmir. The chief of the Saudi intelligence stayed with a local carpet dealer in Jawaharnagar, Srinager in 1982. A few details of this story were covered in an issue of the journal titled Probe.

Outsiders do not know what transpired in the meeting among Saudis, NC and the Jamaatis. As a result Jamaat stopped criticizing the Sheikh. The government in New Delhi turned a blind eye to the funds funnelled through a section of NC leadership to various subversive and fundamentalist groups functioning against national interests.

As the honeymooning proceeded, Jamaatis became emboldened. They began attacks on communist workers, non-Muslim business establishments and Hindu worshipping places. A group of 50 Jamaatis attacked Harkishen Singh Surjeet, the Secretary General of CPI (M) in Srinagar in June 1982. The NC government took no action, Surjeet is reported to have expressed reservations about Article 370 -- the comer stone of the left perception on India.

Surjeet was asked why he did not take up the Jamaat issue with the Centre, He said that would provoke Hindu reaction. This is the opportunistic antics of the left in Indian politics.

Today Surjeet asks the government of India to treat "secularist" JKLF differently from "communal" Hizbul Mujahideen. It is JKLF whose criminals killed Abdus Sattar Ranjoor, the CPM leader of Kashmir. While CPM speaks about autonomy and right of self-determination, it does not say a word about three hundred thousand Kashmiri Pandits extirpated from their homeland and now living as internally displaced persons.

NC patronized the Jamaat to the extent that the then Vice Chancellor of Kashmir University, Rais Ahmad, was physically assaulted for his progressive views.

Intelligence at work

1980 saw a beeline of American diplomats and officials coming to Kashmir. Rockefeller visited in 1980 and had talks with the Sheikh. His mission supplemented the liaison established between the Sheikh and the Saudis.

Then came William Saxebe, the US Ambassador in New Delhi. There was further exchange of ideas on Greater Muslim Kashmir idea. President Raegan dispatched his close aid and his roving ambassador Charlton Heston, an actor colleague of his Hollywood days to Kashmir. Heston's visit was completely blacked out by the local press. An obscure weekly published from Calcutta took notice of the event. To

alley suspecting eyes, Heston stayed at Nishat on the northern bank of the Dal Lake in the guesthouse belonging to a non-Muslim.

The result of the visit of these high ups was forging unity between different elite groups of professionals in Kashmir Muslim society - university teachers, lawyers, engineers, doctors particularly those who had connections in Saudi Arabia, Iran and Libya, a powerful and well-knit section of the State Muslim bureaucracy, local political leadership etc. One regional English daily wrote in 1990 that the ISI had nearly one thousand people among the elite of Srinagar on its payroll.

JV Medical College

Kashmiri Muslim medical doctors finding receptivity in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Libya and the Gulf States carried out their activities favouring Kashmir's struggle for freedom. Saudi and Iranian Pan-Islamists found in them a good conduit to carry out their communal agenda. The Saudis blessed the proposal for Jehlum Valley Medical College in late 1980. Leading Kashmiri doctors and physicians were shuttling between India and Saudi Arabia in those days. Already two medical colleges existed in Kashmir valley, and it was Jammu Hindu majority region of the State that badly needed a medical college.

Opening of the JV Medical College had two objectives (a) safe conduit for flow of foreign, particularly Saudi funds (b) medical seats for the wards of the Srinagar elite who otherwise could not qualify in normal competition.

Twenty-five per cent seats were reserved for Arab students. Their home remittances would become legalized money. Other Arab governments showed keen interest in the proposal. Central government was cautioned but the State government managed to see it cleared administratively.

Here some doctors worked clandestinely for the separatists and turned it into a den of separatist conspiracies. Some of its doctors were implicated in the murder of their staff members who had suspected something fishy about the whole thing.

Incriminating documents regarding the role of JV Medical College in managing funds from abroad had been seized from two top ideologues of the on-going armed insurgency. Huge amount of Pakistani currency was recovered from their possession. Government provided about forty acres of land without cost and the doctors were paid at rupees seven hundred per lecture, which caused resentment among the staff of other medical colleges.

Sheikh's antics

In his will, the Sheikh said that his dead body be consigned to the waters of the Arabian Sea because Kashmir was an enslaved territory. Why did he not choose the Indian Ocean, which is far bigger, deeper and closer than the Arabian Sea? This was the Sheikh after signing the Accord. His speech at Ganderbal in 1979 and his last one made at Hazratbal shrine in 1982 were fully besmeared with communal tinge and even moderate Muslims were greatly incensed by these.

By 1980, campaign for Islamization of Kashmir had begun with full force. The Sheikh changed the names of about 2500 villages from their original to Islamic names. It was to take divorce from the pre-lslamic history and tradition of Kashmir. Pakistani historians were imitated. The Hindus of Kashmir who were the descendents of ancient Kashmirian race were puzzled. A vicious campaign against the Indian army and the local Hindus was also floated. The local Hindus came to be called the mukhbir or informers. This is how the Sheikh has characterized them in his autobiography Atash-e-Chinar. In July 1980, local police contrived a clash between the local civilians of Srinagar and the army personnel. The NC goons set on fire a number of shops of the Hindus in Amira Kadal locality. The Jamaatis compared this minor incident to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

NC-JKLF interface

Some NC cadres maintained links with JKLF from the times of Al Fath under the patronage of Plebiscite Front. Azam Inquilabi, a known separatist leader had termed Dr. Farooq Abdullah as "our senior leader." In Muzaffarabad, Farooq had taken a vow to liberate Kashmir from Indian occupation.

In 1974, some of the top leaders of Kashmir Liberation Force (KLF) visited Srinagar and in the company of Dr. Farooq Abdullah addressed a rally in Lal Chowk chanting the slogan "choon desh myoon desh Kashmir desh Kashmir desh." It was a subtle way of conveying the message that Muslims on both sides of the LoC considered United Kashmir as their homeland. PoK people, grossly discriminated against by Pakistan, are enamoured of united 'Independent Kashmir' slogan. With a strong diaspora in the UK they are financing the movement. The Mirpuris have made chinar leaf their national insignia without ever having seeing what a chinar tree looks like. They ask their women to wear Kashmiri dress but Pakistan government has imposed a ban on attiring themselves the Kashmiri way. Maqbul Bhat, the executed founder of JKLF, stayed in a guest house near Srinagar planning insurgency. NC cadres would meet him often.

Local Muslim elite openly spoke of secession, Jamaat-e-lslami told people in villages to purchase arms in place of luxury goods. Late Ghani Lone had told a rally in Kupwara that Muslim women should sell their jewelry and gold and use the money for purchasing guns.

Preparing for ideology

Incriminating literature appeared on the stands in Srinagar. Some government officials distributed copies of a pamphlet titled Tragedy of Kashmir. Muhammed Yusuf Saraf's two-volume work Kashmiris Fight for Freedom was smuggled into the valley in large numbers. It also focused on earlier terrorist movements. On Guerrilla War by Che Guevara suddenly appeared on the bookstalls in Srinagar. A fiction insurrection titled Assignment in Kashmir and authored by Aamir Ali described involvement of two Swedish persons in smuggling of arms into Kashmir for Kashmiri guerrillas for separatist movement. A newsman wrote that Kashmiri boys were going to Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) for training in arms. He was sacked.

Internal subversion

The network of internal subversion became active. Suddenly there appeared the Resettlement Bill and the pamphlet written by an NC MLA titled Kashmir main aksariyyat ko aqqaliyat main badalne ki sazish (The Conspiracy of Converting Kashmir Muslim Majority ino a Minority). It depicted a picture as if a great conspiracy was being hatched to destroy the Muslims of Kashmir. It called the Kashmiri Muslims a third nation. It was the ideological blue print for pernicious plan of Greater Muslim Kashmir. The author was rewarded more than he deseved -- a berth on the State Cabinet for three terms.

Greater Muslim Kashmir

Ladakh was divided into two districts on communal basis. Local Kashmiri officials, purposefully posted to Ladakh created a wide gulf between the Buddhists and Muslims. Kashmiri Muslim colonies came up in Leh and were provided with lucrative commercial opportunities. The virus of communal hatred was inducted into Ladakh society. Situation in Doda was no better. One Doda NC minister said that not only Kashmir but also India had to be Islamised.

Ideas like Greater Muslim Kashmir carried with it the meaning of Muslim majority area, Muslim rule, Islamic laws and Islamic dispensation etc. It led to further alienation of the people. It was only logical that extirpation of non-Muslim minority from the valley was a part of this plan. NC's tirade against India was at its height. In a dinner party a responsible NC member said that Indians had not tolerated Jinnah whose certain food habits were anti-Islamic. How would they tolerate them (Kashmiris)?

A ring of Muslim dominated colonies has been thrown round the main city of Jammu. But Hindus have been hounded out of Kashmir.

Biography (Atash-e-Chinar)

The compiler of the Sheikh's autobiography, later on to be rewarded with a berth in the upper house, used venomous idiom against the Kashmiri Hindus calling them informers or spies of India. Sahitya Akademy, the highest awarding national organization awarded the book. Maligning the minority did not move the National Minority Commission. Congress goons blackened the face of a senior official of Sahitya Akademy for awarding a Punjabi book Janan di Rat alleging the author had lionized the assailants of Indira Gandhi. Ministry of Human Resource moved quickly to ask for the review of the book and censured the concerned official. Not a single political worker, a single newspaper asked Sahitya Academy why it awarded the biography of the Sheikh when he had so forcefully and vehemently maligned a minuscule religious minority?

The vacuum

With the Sheikh's death, secessionist leadership emerged in full force. Common man developed hatred for the Sheikh and NC leaders and their clannish corruption. Omar Mukhtar film ran for hundreds of shows. Elite and secessionists drew a parallel from the film. A book Yih kis ka khun hai kaun mara by Shabnam Qayyum attacked the Sheikh's legacy. Resettlement Bill was floated. ISI was in close liaison with NC. Pakistan apprehended unrest among the Kashmiris who migrated to PoK. It wanted their return to Kashmir valley to get rid of them. Its other objective was changing the demographic complexion of Jammu.

Sensing Indira Gandhi's reaction against the Resettlement Bill, Dr. Farooq adopted more confrontational posture. He held out threats to the numerically negligible community of Pandits in an election campaign in Habba Kadal constituency with Pandit concentration. This he did in spite of the dilution of this constituency, what we call gerrymandering. He accused them of looking to the Indian army for security forgetting he himself did the same thing. Indian army had guarded his father's family in Bhopal when the armed tribal murauders attacked Kashmir in October 1947, and he had secretly evacuated them. Dr. Farooq hobnobbed with the insurgent elements in the Punjab including Bhindranwale, and took no action against the hooligans who created a scene when the West Indies came to play a cricket match in Srinagar.

Training Camps

Sikh separatists had established a training camp for their cadres in Shajamarg, Kashmir in 1984. Farooq government kept it under wraps. Attacks on Amirakadal temple stirred no reaction in his government.

At Tulamula, on the occasion of Jayeshta Ashtami festival of the Hindus, Farooq told the assembly that Bhindranwale was the 11th guru. In 1983, GOI received reports of Kashmiri youth returning home after receiving training somewhere on the border. This belies the argument that the cause of militancy lay in the rigged elections of 1986-87. The methodology of bringing down Farooq government was a failure.

Jamaat-i-lslami (JI)

During GM Shah's tenure two battalions of Jamaat-e-lslami were raised to augment State police force. It became the crucial element in massive internal subversion and a communal wing of the Hizbul Mujahideen.

Shah had no popular base and hobnobbed with fundamentalist elements for support. Jamaatis were recruited as teachers in a large numbers. Shah did not fight Farooq politically but aligned himself with communal forces like Qazi Nisar of Anantnag. Political rivalry between GM Shah and local Congress leadership resulted in Congress under the presidency of Mufti Muhammad Sayeed inciting communal riots in Anantnag in 1986.

Kashmiriyat and homework

The ideology of Greater Muslim Kashmir was given the name of Kashmiriyat. Few Kashmiri Muslim scholars understood that by making Urdu the official language, Kashmiri language was given a rude shock.

The elite wanted to fraternize with the Pakistanis who had accepted Urdu as the national language. Nobody told Kashmiri Muslims that Pakistan meant Punjabi hegemony and Punjabi language was the language of hegemonists and not Urdu. Urdu would bring them closer to the Mohajirs and not Punjabis. And Mohajir is pitted against the Punjabi.

Most of the Muslim children born after 1970 adopted Pakistani cricket players' names or Arabic names. This was the Kashmiriyat of the elite. On the one hand local bureaucracy asked for huge development packages and on the other it foisted alienation.

Kashmiri Muslim youth changed their life style. Trekking, playing cricket in streets and villages and towns became common. Trucks driven mostly by Sikh drivers carried suspicious contents and dumped these at identified places at night. A large number of brick kilns surfaced in the border areas. Owners were given hundreds of thousands of rupees as industrial loans. These were used as dumping grounds. President Zia of Pakistan paid a visit to Jaipur to witness cricket match. This was indirect message to Kashmiri youth to prepare for better physical fitness.

Corruption

Bureaucrats and big business class formed nexus obstructing the opportunities of common Kashmiris. Training, employment, promotions, lucrative jobs, contracts etc. went to the wards of the elite.

Blackmailing by the bureaucracy and the political elite continued at a high rate. Whenever local leadership came into conflict with the Central leadership, it brought in the element of religion.

Erosion of NC

NC adopted dubious way in Kashmir but a different stance beyond the mountain range of the Pir Panchal. NC began losing the ground. Command went into second and third rung of leaders. They were non-committed. It was crude demagogy, browbeating nationalists and Indians through Kashmiriyat.

Fratricidal war paved the way for malevolent elements to become brokers. JI and Peoples League pushed their activists into NC through Youth NC. From this illegal marriage of the Peoples League, Jamaat-e-lslami and the NC emerged the so-called secular offspring called Kashmir Liberation Front (later on Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front). Others also joined it later on. The Peoples' United Front of Maulavi Abbas Ansari had earlier been Muslim United Front (MUF)

MUF

It comprised two streams: Jamaat-i-lslami and non-Jamaatis. Their ideology was Islamization and Muslim communalism respectively. At times they locked horns. At present the conflict between JKLF and Hizbu'l-Mujahideen (HUM) -- if there is any conflict -- is not between secularism and communalism but between the shades of Muslim communalism. Most of the Jamaatis are important JKLF members. Ghulam Qadir Wani, a hardcore Jamaati, was the mastermind behind the JKLF. All earlier killings of Kashmiri Pandits were carried out by the JKLF.

The rigged election of 1986-87

Many NC workers expecting a mandate from the party were refused and joined the ranks of the MUF and later on JKLF. Sons of Congress and Plebiscite Front workers were to be found in the ranks of HUM. Gradually through political diatribe like the philosophy of living with honour and dignity (izzat wa abru ka muqam) got exposed, thus coming closer to ghettoizing confines of the Muslim sub-nationalism, patronizing regressive bureaucracy, defending its myopic vision, with-holding the Kashmiris from joining national mainstream through the creation of fantasies like "Third Nation" etc., the NC contributed liberally to the process of alienation of Kashmiris from Indian national mainstream. After 1979, NC never confronted JI's growing secessionism.

NC's administrative mechanism became susceptible to corruption, nepotism, favouritism and inefficiency. The nexus of bureaucracy, business class or the elite and politicians with vested interests created conditions for subversion from within. It was heading for a theo-fascist movement. NC began a negative campaign under the slogan of Kashmiriyat with undertones of sectarian Muslim identity. This alienated even the Shias besides the Gujjars and the non-Muslims of Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh.

Jamaat and insurgency

ISI wanted the JI to become the main instrument to take up the secession. Jamaat infiltrated all organizations. It had credibility among the masses and started militancy through non-Jamaat organization JKLF. It needed a cover. Jamaat-e-lslami has created a massive structure over three decades for indoctrination of Muslim children with fundamentalist ideology. Muslim elite became a support to the Jamaatis and the ISI in Kashmir. The aim was twofold (a) creating theocratic polity and (b) merging with Pakistan. Maudoodi believed in Islamic ummah (community) and not nationalities. But when UP Muslim feudal joined hands with Punjabi feudal, Mowdoodi had to be silent. He had first opposed creation of Pakistan. Jinnah had never envisaged a theocratic Pakistani Muslim state.

JI Kashmir was independent of JI of India, a subtle way of saying that it did not accept the finality of accession. Founded in Shupian in 1947, it was banned in Kashmir for the third time during the governorhsip of Jagmohan. Earlier Bakhshi had utilized their support to suppress pro-Sheikh elements. Mir Qasim lifted the ban and again used them. He got five of his own partymen belonging to Sadiq group (Congress I) defeated at the hustings. The JI candidate standing against him withdrew and in return JI was given five Assembly seats. Thus JI established links with the administrative cadres. Mir Qasim succumbed and handed over power to the Sheikh. Incidentally, Qasim's son, a doctor in the USA, is an active worker for secession of Kashmir. Qasim facilitated the work of Jamaat. By 1970, the young generation of the Jamaatis responded. It had its schooling in darsgahs (religious seminaries). It talked of nizam or socio-political system. Jamaat expanded its influence in bureaucracy, secretariat, police force, Home Guard, Bar Association, Soura Medical Instate, Muslim medicos, schools and colleges in Kashmir and Doda, Hindustan Machine Tool Factory etc. Hindustan Machine Tool Factory and Kashmir University campus were its important centre of activity.

Islami Jamiat-e-Tulaba (IJT)

In autumn 1977, the students' wing of Jamaat-e-lslami called IJT, was created. Its public pronouncements were patently secessionist. The State government took no steps to curb it. The Afghan guerrilla documentaries were screened in the house of the CM. Ashraf Sahrai, its founder president, spoke in the first annual session in July 1978 in Srinagar and compared Kashmir struggle with liberation movement elsewhere. In 1986, number of its basic members rose to ten thousand. It ran 300 madrasahs (religious seminaries) where indoctrination was the rule.

Iranian link

Iranian clerics took care not to give sectarian colour to the concept of export of Islamic revolution. Moderates like Ayatollah Taloghani and Ayatollah Shariatmadari were sidelined and extremists like Ayatollah Mohtashami were catapulted into the seats of power. Iranian clerics courted Kashmiri Muslim youth. JI liked Khumeini type of uprising in Kashmir. Khumeini's descent was traced to Kashmir.

Tajamulu'l-lslam appeared as a firebrand of JT and preached for armed insurgency in Kashmir. Police wanted him but the bureaucracy shielded him. He escaped to Iran via Nepal. The Iranian Ambassador in New Delhi prayed in Jama Masjid of Srinagar, traditionally a stronghold of the Sunnis who did not allow Shias to enter it.

Allahwale Movement

Ahl-e-Hadith (Taditionalists) active in Kashmir for more than a century wanted purging Islam of indigenous elements. It meant freeing popular Islam in the valley of its pre-Islamic roots. Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad, Kashmir Chief Minister believed in the Rishi (mystic) tradition or indigenous tradition of Kashmir. However, as the concept of Greater Muslim Kashmir developed, the resultant social-religious schism posed a big challenge. Allahwale were to counterpoise a section of Kashmiri Muslims that believed in popular Islam with rich indigenous content and tradition. Allahwale, Ahle Hadith and JI worked along common lines. Ahle Hadith worked among the elitist group, Allahwale with the common people because their idiom and lifestyle were like those of the common people.

It is the best-organized fundamentalist movement with branches in Africa, Europe and Pakistan and also in Russia and China. They undertook to do the remaining work of the Saudis after the patch up in Kashmir. To alley the fears of the Central government they posed as religious and good Musulmans. Tarjumanu'1-Huq was the newspaper they published. It attracted even doctors and top bureaucrats who would take leave and join its tableeghi (propagation) programme. After 1980, Allahwale spread out in entire Kashmir adopting a low profile. Silently they preached of drawing a line between kufr (heresy) and iman (faith). Communal divide was brought about carefully. Allahwale stuck to rural base. Majority of Kashmiri militants come from the rural Kashmir. The symbols of independence give them the upward position in social hierarchy and status ladder. Prior to 1988 they had organized three conferences in the valley. They had strict instructions to campaign strongly in North Kashmir especially in Baramulla and Kupwara districts. This was the time when the ‘Operation Topac’ was to be launched. Many mosques sprang. The Baramulla mosque functioned as the zonal headquarter of Allahwale in Northern India.

In 1988, around the time of launching Operation Topac, Allahwale held a big convention in Idgah in Srinagar. Dr. Farooq told the Indian government that he had refused permission for the convention. But Allahwale had a strong clout in the Union Government, and it over-ruled Farooq's pleas. Allahwale made dubious moves feigning opposition to the Jamaatis. The Union government was misled. Nevertheless it was aware of the activities of the Islamic Study Circle established by Allahwale.

The Allahwale movement has its centre at Aligarh Muslim University. It holds its annual congregations in Bhopal at Tajul Masjid. Thousands of Kashmiri Allahwale activists attend the Bhopal congregations. They meet activist from other Indian states. Links were established to sustain anti-India campaign. The Aligarh alumni supported Allahwale strongly.

Jamiat-e~Tulaba

It concentrated on non-elitist sections. Its headquarter is in Batmaloo, Srinagar. Its leadership formed the core of JKLF. It held weekly meetings almost in every educational institution. People's League was its sister organization with leaders like Maqbul Bhat and Mohammad Altaf or Azam Inquilabi (also a Jamaati). On November 1, 1982, Mahaz-e-Azadi (Plebiscite Front), Peoples League and Jamiat-e-Tulaba (JT) met to discuss how anti-India activities could be enlarged. Earlier on October 20, Muslim Conference called by Inquilabi had passed a resolution, which asked for implementation of the UN resolutions on Kashmir. It asked for acceptance of cultural demands of setting up an Islamic university, ban on co-education in the state, teaching of Arabic from the primary to post-graduate level, banning of cinemas, indecent ads and liquor shops. They agreed to form United Liberation Front to fight against India. Some university teachers as members of JT asked for implementation of shariat law in Kashmir. Interestingly, while JT demanded ban on cinema, Omar Mukhtar film went on for hundreds of shows because it showed imaginary Muslim mujahid fighting a jihad. JT secretly distributed the guidelines of Pakistan's action plan on Kashmir. A booklet titled Hizb-e-lslami was published by it containing this confidential scheme. After giving the highlights of the insurgency plan, it concluded by saying, "Islam is our aim, the Quran is our constitution, jihad is our path, war till victory, God is Great."

Of Hizbu '1-Mujahideen (HUM)

JI formed its own armed wing called HUM. It also formed women's wing called Dukhtaran-i-Millat. In the first phase, about 500 activists went over to receive training. It concentrated on the State police organization. Some well-trained commandos in the State Police organization joined HUM. Governor Jagmohan dismissed some them. Earlier three JI MUF leaders had resigned on the understanding that Pakistan was about to attack and they would head the government in Kashmir. Initial killings of the Kashmiri Pandits were undertaken by the JKLF. But after 1990, most of the killings of Pandits took place at the hands of JUM, which now wanted to eliminate all potential opponents, not only the Hindu minority. Killing of NC leaders became their concern. Mir Mustafa, Maulana Masoodi, Molavi Muhammad Farooq and others fell victims to their bullets.

It is the best armed outfit with regular supply of arms and ammunition from Pakistan. Logistical directions come from ISI and military intelligence. Afghan mujahideen are also represented in its ranks. Top leadership has Pakistani commandos as their body-guards. Sudanese have also joined the outfit. Kashmiris receive training in Afghan training camps particularly in Khost. Some died during the American attack on Osama's camp. Three HUM militants captured by the Indian security forces said they were trained at Eram Park near Meshad in Iran.

JI split was part of its tactics. The so-called moderate wing joined the state administrative cadres. Moderates initiated a debate that Islam is incomplete without a government. Hardcore Jamaatis say their destination is not only Kashmir but also Balkanization of India.

Cultivating Indian lobbies a)
Swatantrites

Thinking in some sections of Indian political analysts is that a nexus has developed between the fundamentalists and the Marxists. One of the important members of this Indian Muslim lobby, was a lawyer in Bombay who convassed support for Kashmir militants, Aligarh Muslim University provided a strong cell to coordinate Kashmir insurgency. This lobby tried to make use of old Swatantrite line of supporting independent Kashmir. Swatantrites had pro-British links and had established rapport with the Americans also. Through the Bombay lawyer, JRD Tata. the big Indian industrialist was approached to convene a secret seminar at Hotel Taj in Bombay on June 15 and 16, 1990. The title of the seminar was "Kashmir: the need for a bold initiative." Many controversial personalities attended. Its proceedings were never disclosed. Its resolution recommended total regional autonomy leaving only defence, foreign affairs and communication with the Union. If Kashmiris did not agree, they were allowed to secede. Rustumjee had criticized the government for its violation of human rights in Kashmir. Nobody spoke about the extirpation of three hundred thousand Kashmir Pandits. JRD Tata was awarded Bharat Ratna, the highest civil award in the country.

b) The Initiative on Kashmir Committee

Naxalites have been vociferous in pleading human rights violations in Kashmir. An active Naxalite heads initiative on Kashmir Committee. Some ultra left groups call for secession of Kashmir. It promotes separation of Kashmir in its weekly from Bombay titled Economic and Political Weekly. It has been lionizing terrorism in India and giving hospitality of its columns to secessionists. Its special correspondents call the concern of the Indians for the Kashmiri internally displaced persons as "jingoism" The weekly has been working hard for disinformation in regard to Kashmir situation.

The question is why do these left groups, which profess and advocate their belief in secular socialist revolution and working class solidarity go on canvassing support for the insurgency movement in Kashmir? Is it because they consider it a disputed territory and can be separated from India? Among so-called human rights workers are Sarvodaya workers, the Royists and the Naxalites under one garb or the other. The Aligarh cell is in regular contact with them and the Muslim communal politicians in India.

American Perception

Prior to the implosion of the Soviet Union, Americans concern was about the containment of communism. To further its strategy, she exploited religious sentiment of the Muslims freely. America was never reconciled to non-aligned movement, as that would neutralize the Muslim support. Pakistan suits the US for specific role in the region and even globally. However after the Soviet implosion situation has changed. America has no commitment to fight Islamic fundamentalism as part of the new world order based on what they call pluralism, democracy and human rights. Expediency decides her priorities. Anglo-American group has two priorities in Kashmir. One is keeping a regional conflict alive albeit below its flash-point level and the second to carve one more Muslim segment on the Indian sub-continent complementary to their sphere of influence. China and Central Asia are two regions not far away from Kashmir. Some American lawmakers like Mr. Dan Burton are critical of India's human rights record in Kashmir. So is Lord Avebury in U.K. Asia Watch and Amnesty International have not shown concern about terrorism imposed by the militant outfits on Indian civil society. By linking aid with elusive human rights issue, a challenge is posed to the developing countries. Asia Watch and Amnesty are somehow linked with anti-India lobbies.

On disclosures made by the sections of press about Iran's involvement in Kashmir uprising, the US looked with some concern at Islamic Fundamentalist Kashmir. It is interesting to note that personalities like Senator Cranston and Talbot took special interest to warn India about the implications of Iranian involvement in the imbroglio but not on Saudi role. American experts have been talking about things like "shared sovereignty." British MPs, like Lord Avebury and Kauffman, are openly supporting the idea of the "Third Option," and Anglo-American lobby is even pressing the Pakistani civilian-military leadership to agree to the Third Option.

Track II diplomacy

Endless debates are held in European countries and the U.S. on Kashmir issue. The joke is that Kashmir has become an industry. Kathwari floated his plan during Clinton administration. The general belief is that the U.S. think-tank, giving it different names like People to People Contact or Neemrana Talks, floats these and other plans. But does anybody talk about the source of armed insurgency, the fundamentalists-terrorist dimension of insurgency and patently communal slant of the movement? Participants shy away from realities.

September 11 and aftermath

The US finally conceded that terrorists from Pakistani soil infiltrated into Kashmir. In the course of dealing with Pakistan in the matter of containment of Al Qaeda and Taliban from spreading into Pakistan, the US says she has talked to Gen. Musharraf that cross border infiltration should be stopped. General Musharraf, in turn said he had made no such commitment. In the meanwhile Indian part of the State has gone in for polls, which the militants tried to disrupt. The Hurriyat boycotted elections. Three towns showed poor turnout but in rural areas, nearly 48 to 50 per cent turnout of voters was reported. Fractured verdict resulted in the coalition government headed by the PDP chief with a 30-point common minimum programme.

© 2001-2005 Kashmir Herald. All Rights Reserved
http://www.kashmirherald.com/featuredarticle/kashmirquestion-prn.html

Appendix K

Arms For Peace: Two reformed Kashmiri militants tell the story of Terrorism like it is

Pune Times, August, 2001

If you are looking for the bogeyman in Jammu & Kashmir, responsible for most of the terrorist activity there, listen to what these two reformed Kashmiri militants have to say.

The thickset Usman Majid (34), and the lean Liaqat Ali (32), residents of Srinagar, trained in Afghanistan and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) in 1989-90 and caused immense damage with their guns in the early 90s before deciding to give up arms in 1995.

Today, the two men talk peace and hope that the Kashmir imbroglio is settled at the earliest.

The duo, who attended the three day Indo-Pak people dialogue to peace and prosperity which concluded in Panchgani recently told Pune Times that it was Pakistan who was instigating all the violence in the state. According to Liaqat, there were Pakistani army and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) officers training Kashmiri militants in camps in POK and Afghanistan. Liaqat remembers being influenced by calls for freedom from India and calls for jehad, or a holy war. "We were very young and extremely vulnerable to religious pulls and pressures. Also, the fact that the government in Delhi was ignoring our state made us angry and upset" says Liaqat.

However, after many a gun battle and destruction, Liaqat one day met a Pakistani army officer who openly concurred the Kashmiri separatism and said that they could easily be replaced by foreign militants. Pakistan was also openly inciting the pro-Pakistan and pro-Kashmiri independence militants to fight each other. One Kashmiri was killing the other. This scenarios made Liaqat see sense.

Recalls Liaqat, "We realised that the Pakistanis were merely using us to serve their own ends. This made us think and we decided to give up arms." Liaqat remembers volunteering to become a village school teacher while embracing peace. He later joined Kukka Parray's Awami League political party. Today, he heads his own political outfit called the Awami Conference, in which he is assisted by his former militant colleague Usman Majid, who is the party's vice president.

Usman too regrets walking the path of terrorism. He remembers blowing up bridges and buildings in his fight for Kashmiri freedom. It was only when he realised that he was actually killing his own friends in inter-group conflicts, that the reality sunk in. "We realised that we were insulting the Koran by calling this the holy war. Actually we were just turning our Janat (heaven) into a Jahanum (hell)," he says.

Usman surrendered in early 1995 and served a long period in jail before coming out and joining hands with Liaqat to float a political party. According to him, Delhi should be listening to the voice of the common people, aiding the education process and constructing factories and industry in Kashmir. The duo are praying that peace comes back to the state. "We are ready to make it happen, if the Centre takes our help," they chorus.

Appendix L

Politicians behind Kashmir mess: Mufti

TIMES NEWS NETWORK - MONDAY, MARCH 03, 2003 01:53:34 AM

NEW DELHI: Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed has blamed politicians, including himself for the alienation of the people in the state and the migration of the minority community, the Kashmiri Pandits.

"It is the politicians who are responsible for thepeople's alienation as they failed to address their grievances and problems. I myself cannot be absolved of this responsibility and might have erred at some point of time," the Mufti said, adding he wanted to make good for the mistakes.

Speaking at a Shivratri celebration organised by him here on Saturday, the Mufti said: "Our heads hang in shame for what has happened to the minority community which spoiled the 'guldasta' (Kashmir described as a bouquet comprising a variety of flowers, representing different communities), which Jammu and Kashmir was known for centuries. The Kashmiri Pandits are the inseparable part of the flowering Kashmiriyat and this has to be revived come what may."

The Mufti is the first Chief Minister to organise a Shivratri Milan which was attended, among other, by J&K Governor G C Saxena, senior Congress leaders Karan Singh, Ghulam Nabi Azad, M L Fotedar and Jaipal Reddy, Panther's party leader Bhim Singh, and state ministers Mangat Ram Sharma and Taj Mohi-ud-Din.

Making a fervent appeal to the Kashmiri migrants to return to the Valley, the Mufti said: "The successful completion of the elections has raised hopes among the people who have started seeing a silver lining in the dark clouds hovering over the state for long. If some movement has to start in the state, it has to be done in a democratic way."

He added: "When we talk about the external designs preventing the situation from returning to normal, we should not forget that there are certain vested interests internally as well, who are opposed to normalisation of situation in the state."

The J&K Governor cautioned the people of the state against elements opposed to the restoration of peace in the state.

"People are closely monitoring the stands of various separatist groups and political parties. Anyone working against the wishes of the people would be wiped out of the state politics as the people are eagerly looking for all avenues for peace," Saxena said.

http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/cms.dll/html/uncomp/articleshow?artid=39108487